

TRUSTIFICATION.

THREE AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS
IN 1899 AND 1900.

And Figures That Nail Certain Lies
of the Journal of Commerce, Intended
for Broadcast Circulation by the Cap-
italist Press Among the Stupid Middle
Class.

There was a time when the private
man of high standing in manufacture
and commerce, with their retinue of job-
bers and brokers, constituted a class
whose opinion had great weight in public
affairs. The New York "Journal of Com-
merce" was "honestly" then voicing their
interests and faithfully reflecting their
views. It consequently warred against
"railroad monopoly," looked with suspi-
cion on great corporate schemes and
vehemently denounced the trustification
movement. But with the growth of cor-
porations this class gradually declined in
power, and it finally lost all its influence
when the "trust," by absorbing its wealth-
ier members and casting the others far
back into the shade, became the command-
ing power. At every step of capitalism
in its fated journey, the position of the
"Journal of Commerce" became therefore
more difficult. In fact, there never was
a time in American journalism, a case
more embarrassing, and that was when the
"Volkzeitung," deeming itself threatened
in its existence by the very growth of
that revolutionary Socialism which it had
been instituted to promote, undertook
the impossible task of carrying, on its
shoulders, five buckets of water, respect-
ively labeled "Socialism," "Anarchism,"
"Trade-Unionism," "Pure and Simple,"
"Middle Class Taxation" and "Beer."

But the editor of the "Journal of Com-
merce" is not a fool. He soon learned
to straddle on barbed wire fences,
to do the tight-rope dancing act be-
tween the Democratic party; for
the bottom of the barrel box in attempt-
ing to carry Bryan anti-trust whiskey
in silver bucket on its South-west shoulder,
and Belmont-Crocker trust water in a gold
bucket on its North-east shoulder, the
"Journal of Commerce," by carrying both,
is a tin can on its one and only head,
preserves its middle class subscribers and
saps a crop of plutocratic advertisements.

In its "fin-de-siècle" number we are
treated to show of statistical legende-
rism. It is there proven in mammoth
type and by actual figures, that "the
consolidation craze is declining," that "new
competition is increasing," and that "ex-
cept in special instances the threat of in-
dustrial monopoly is being rapidly re-
moved." As it is likely that this "good
news," or stupendous "fake," will be daily
banned for a number of months by the
capitalist press throughout the country,
we may take the trouble of looking into
it a little more closely.

In the first place we are told that "dur-
ing the year 1900 the aggregate capitaliza-
tions of new consolidations was about
\$405,000,000, as against over \$2,500,000,
in 1899; and this is undoubtedly re-
presented as a "decline." To be sure it
requires no great amount of reflection
to see a conclusion; but among busy people
and persons of untrained mind the inter-
pretation of a fact and the consequent
impression it leaves upon the memory
largely depend upon the form in which
it is stated. If the form be wrong, the
resulting impression is false, and in
most cases it may be lasting. Observe,
then, that we have here a cunning sub-
stitution of the comparative for the
positive form, which would be as fol-
lows: "THE ENORMOUS CONSOLI-
DATIONS OF RECENT YEARS, TO
WHICH THE YEAR 1899 ALONE
CONTRIBUTED A CAPITALIZA-
TION OF \$2,500,000,000, WERE
FURTHER INCREASED IN 1900 BY
A CAPITALIZATION OF \$405,000,000."
Does this show a decline? Again,
observe that this last figure is in itself
so completely considerable to dispose of
the impression, plainly intended to be
conveyed by the "Journal of Commerce,"
that there is in capitalist circles a re-
action against the policy of trustification;
and it is safe to add that it would have
been still larger if the industrial cap-
italizations of previous years had not
been as great as to now leave but little
room, comparatively, for further progress
in the same direction. Of course it were
a little remark, that when all the in-
dustries shall have been trustified there
will not be any more trustification of
industry. Neither Munchausen nor even
the "Journal of Commerce" would deny
that. Now the fact is that in manufac-
ture alone the trustification is close
upon EIGHT BILLION DOLLARS,
and that the products of the remaining
"independent" establishments are for the
most part of a sort and of a value that
cannot yet attract the trustifier.

In the second place we are presented
with a list of small corporations, formed
in 1900 in a few of the industrial fields
namely iron and steel already occupied
by powerful trusts. And this fact is
presented to us as a revival of com-

petition; nay, as conclusive evidence that
"except in special instances the threat of
industrial monopoly is being rapidly re-
moved." We have taken the trouble of
adding together the capitals of those re-
called competitors and found that they
foot up the insignificant total of about
sixty millions as against a grand total of
sixteen hundred millions for the trusts in
the corresponding branches of in-
dustry. Observe, furthermore, that most
of them have a capital of only one million
or less, probably not fully paid; that if
they are "independent" they must com-
pete not only against the trusts, but
against each other; and that unless they
have some special advantage—a valuable
patent, for instance, or a superior loca-
tion, in which case they will quickly be
bought out by the trust—they are obvi-
ously bound to fail.

Lastly we are told that although the
great trusts in kindred branches have each
a well-defined field of operation, there are
certain points of contact at which their
interests begin to clash; and a few ex-
amples are given of the mutual encroach-
ments and consequent competition be-
tween some of them. But what of it?
The Socialists foresaw long ago that such
would inevitably be the case until the
trustification process had reached its ul-
timate end. Of course, we never im-
agined for a moment that this ultimate
end could be as the "Journal of Com-
merce" effects to believe—the restoration
of competition. On the contrary we pre-
dicted with the utmost confidence that the
inevitable result of war between trusts
would be a more extensive trustification.
It falls indeed under the sense that the
dozen great financial interests, for in-
stance, that have appropriated among
themselves the different branches of the
iron and steel industry, must some day
amalgamate, and that it will be far easier
to consolidate twelve such gigantic con-
cerns into one national body, than it was
to fuse several thousand distinct indus-
trial establishments into twelve financial
units. We went even further, and pre-
dicted with not less confidence that—
barring out the Social Revolution—the
day would of necessity come when the
great capitalists jointly owning the vari-
ous trusts would amalgamate them all
financially into a "Trust of Trusts"—a
king trust—regardless of the wide techni-
cal differences between the industries or
services brought under their sway, and
respectively carried on by competent
stipendiaries. This is, in fact, the work
upon which such mighty trustifiers as
Pierpont Morgan and Rockefeller are al-
ready engaged.

In the meantime the "Journal of Com-
merce" is manufacturing, knock-out
drops to be retailed under its widely
known trade mark and administered to
the middle class by great and small cap-
italist organs in doses to suit the tem-
perament of their respective localities.
But the extent of its own belief in the
revival and beneficence of competition
is shown in the following extract from
its editorial comments upon the message
of the Governor of New York: "The in-
corporation laws should be drawn with
a view to facilitating rather than ob-
structing all useful consolidations of cap-
ital."

Let us note, in conclusion, the trustifi-
cation movement of England. We lately
observed that in this respect Great
Britain was far in the rear of the United
States, but that under the pressure of
American inroads she was awakening
to the necessity of concentrating her own
means in order to successfully oppose
the enormous masses of capital which
the American trusts can now use as trip
hammers to flatten out their foreign
rivals. Her present financial situation,
however, is not favorable to the progress
of a movement of this sort on the
scale and with the speed obviously
required. No doubt the purely industrial
and commercial portion of British cap-
italism realizes the need of prompt and
vigorous action; but it can do nothing
of importance without the aid of that
other portion which consists of "invest-
ors"; and it looks as if these patriots
had more confidence in American stocks
than in their own industries. The largest
consolidations so far reported have taken
place in the textile and iron branches;
but none of them can compare in size
with the American trusts. The prospect
is, therefore, that for some time at least
our trusts will have their own way abroad
and "our unexampled prosperity" will
still be heralded by all the capitalistic
trumpets. But this cannot be of very
long duration. The result must soon be
a lack of work in foreign lands, a de-
crease of purchasing power on foreign
markets, a consequent decrease of our
exports, and a world-wide crisis. We
shall see.

The "Coming Nation" rises up to heave
a brick at the retreating figure of Eu-
gene V. Debs. Not that the "Coming
Nation" has a right to throw bricks at
Debs because he is a "traitor." It hap-
pens, even, that it did not support him
for President. It threw its mouth in
favor of Bryan, but that does not pre-
vent it from being most horribly "social-
ist," and of "repudiating" Debs, his acts,
and his wiles. Now since the "Coming
Nation" was the official organ of the
Ruskin free-love association, it has had
most serious trouble. Not the least of
them has been to find a market for itself.
The Socialist Labor Party long ago
threw it aside as vile and worthless, and
the S. D. P. had not the money to buy
it. The Bryanites have no use for it,
and it is seeking shelter. Its attack on
Debs shows that it has no hope from his
party, so it gets down and tries to
crawl into the ranks of the Kangaroos.
It is in worthy company, and will no
doubt be able, some time, to return to its
old Ruskin ways, and the little sign
that gave it life.

THE FRATERNALIST

CURRAN WOULD NOT ATTACK WRONG
DOERS—FAKIRS MAY BE INNO-
CENT OF INTENT.

Believes the English Methods Productive
of Good—Would Not Fight Individuals
But the System—Scenes and Incidents
of the Meeting.

On Friday evening, January 4, a
DAILY PEOPLE reporter interviewed
Peter Curran, the English fraternal de-
legate to the A. F. of L. convention, at
Arlington Hall where Curran was to
speak.

Mr. Curran was discovered surrounded
by a half dozen sorry looking Kanga-
roos. He is a bullet-headed gentleman with
the shifty deceitful eye of the typical
labor fakir and possesses the physique
of the bon vivant. The first question
fired at Mr. Curran was:

"Do you believe it is possible to
build a political movement in England
on the present form of trades union
organization existing there?"

"Yes. We are doing it now. We
have elected two members to Parliament
at the last election."

"Is it not fact that these fellows (and
Burns and Hardie) are not Socialists and
that they were not elected by trades
unionists?"

Mr. Curran thought that they were So-
cialists and that the unions helped to
elect them.

"What do you think of the Socialist
Trade and Labor Alliance?" was next
asked.

"I don't believe in it. I do not believe
in attacking men and calling them labor
fakirs and political scabs as you S. L. P.
men do."

"Do you believe in attacking scound-
rels who plant the working class in
front of the guns and policemen's clubs?"

"I don't know of any trade unionist
that does that."

"Is it possible that you don't know
that a labor leader who runs on a cap-
italist ticket places the capitalists
in possession of the club of political
power, so that he can stave in the heads
of the workingmen?"

Mr. Curran woke up then and admitted
that it was so.

"Well, if you now admit this is so, why
don't you lash with whips of fire the
traitors to the working class in the
British House of Commons?"

"I don't know of any traitors to the
working class in Parliament," said Mr.
Curran.

"What about Burns, Pickards,
Holmes, Burns and the rest of that
crowd; would you attack them?"

"I would not attack John Burns be-
cause he is a friend of mine, and I ad-
mire him very much. As to Pickard, I
run against him in his constituency. As
to Burt and the others, I could not at-
tack them because they may be innocent
men who do not know what they are
doing."

"In other words, if a fellow sells out
to the capitalist class, has the workers
slaughtered, stands, in fact, with his
hands red with the blood of the working
class, you refuse to attack him on the
ridiculous plea that they don't know bet-
ter? If they don't know any better, why
not expose their ignorance and kick them
out at once?"

Mr. Curran thought it was better to
educate than to fight them.

"Acting on that principle then you
would not fight Mark Hanna if you
thought he was acting innocently when
he orders the miners shot? You would
not fight the gang that builds Bull Pens
for our class?"

"No," said Curran with a smug smile.
"We believe in fighting the system, not
the individual."

Mr. Curran was then informed by the
DAILY PEOPLE reporter that such a
cowardly and traitorous attitude might
go in England but that in America
we don't shield fakirs with abstract ideas
of right and wrong.

That in the class struggle between
the workers and their exploiters there can
be no mercy shown to the betrayers of
the proletariat.

The reporter then asked Mr. Curran if
the English trades unions would permit
a capitalist to become cashier of the union.

Curran said at once, "No."
"Well, then, what do you think of the
United Mine Workers Union of Amer-
ica that has the dues of over 100,000
men stopped off in the offices of the coal
operators?"

Mr. Curran instantly replied that he
"did not believe that any such thing oc-
curred in America or anywhere else."

"Well," said the reporter, "here are
the facts. Mark Hanna owns an im-
mense mine at Potters Run, Allegheny,
County, Pa. His orders are 'belong to
the union or you can not work in the
mine.' His superintendent, Mr. Young,
stops off all the dues in the
office and turns them over to
Patrick Dolan, the district president,
every pay-day."

Mr. Curran still refused to believe that
such was the case.

VOLKSZEITUNG SQUEALS AGAIN.

The Sheriff in Charge in the Office For
Costs.

If anyone has business with the Sher-
iff, he will have to call at the "Volk-
szeitung" office, 184 William street. The
Sheriff has been there in charge for the
last couple of days, and will continue in
charge for a couple of days more.

This is one of the direct results of the
conduct of the Board of Directors of the
Corporation in bringing a fraudulent ac-
tion against Party members, so as to se-
cure possession of the Party's English
press. Readers of the DAILY PEOP-
LE have been made acquainted with the
various stages of this performance;
each resulted more disastrously than the
previously one to the Corporation, until
now the Sheriff is there, lodged.

This last event happened when the Cor-
poration tried to dodge payment of about
\$300 costs due on the appeal which it
recently lost in the Court of Appeals.
The matter was placed in the Sheriff's
hands, and he is there now. The Corpora-
tion, then suddenly pretended that it
wanted to appeal, and got a stay of a few
days,—snatching at straws. The only re-
sult being that it will have to pay con-
siderably more before the Sheriff will vac-
ate the "Volkzeitung" office—all of
which comes from trying Timboctoo
tricks outside of Timboctoo.

In view of this, the "Volkzeitung" is-
sued yesterday a hurry call to a certain
organization—"The Volkszeitung Con-
ference"—which it uses for the purpose
of squeezing moneys out of poor and un-
informed German workmen so as to
have funds to pay its high-salaried col-
lection of nincompoop "editors" and
other officials. The "Conference" is to
be frightened into giving money to de-
fray the expenses of the blundering
Board of Directors.

But this is not the only misfortune
that has befallen that prostituted sheet
of the Organized Scabbers last week. Read-
ers of the DAILY PEOPLE know that
some time ago several of the stockhold-
ers of the Corporation applied to the At-
torney General to revoke the charter of
the Corporation. The grounds for the
application were, besides the alleged
bankrupt condition of the Corporation,
the fact that the "Volkzeitung" be-
longed to Section New York, S. L. P., and
that the Corporation was destroying the prop-
erty. As stated at the time, this was but
a preliminary and formal step necessary,
before the loyal stockholders could pro-
ceed in regular form to demand that the
concern be placed in the receiver's hands,
its affairs wound up and the property
distributed. The Attorney General, as
was to be expected, declined himself to
put a quietus on the Corporation, but in
his decision he points out that the loyal
stockholders can proceed before the
courts and there obtain all that they can
ask. This decision, accordingly, is tan-
taumount to the starting of proceedings,
in the very courts before which the Cor-
poration dragged the Party, for the final
dissolution of the Volkszeitung Corpora-
tion, a nest of the most poisonous rep-
tiles and intellectual noodles that have
yet been gathered together to do the
unsuspecting German workmen and
play a corrupt role in the American Labor
Movement.

Massachusetts. That where formerly a
man would be discharged for belonging
to a union now he is discharged if he
does not.

All this was news to Mr. Curran, who
will evidently go back to England as
stupid as when he came.

The interview terminated at this point.
Mr. Curran went on the platform.

Mr. Curran spoke for over an hour,
and during that time he strenuously en-
deavored to say something. He failed to
do anything but trot out the usual
trite vapors. He wandered from Eng-
land to America; from New York to
Chicago; and from St. Louis back to
dear old Lunnion. In all these wanderings,
he forgot to tell the why and the wherefore
of his itinerancy, or what he saw or why
he saw it. This also was probably a
beautiful illustration of solidarity.

Mr. Curran commenced by say-
ing that he represented two million
workmen, and the two mil-
lion workmen were decorously ap-
plauded. From that on the audience
was like the sleeping beauty. They woke
from their somnolence only to leave
the hall or to look dully around. The
speaker dropped off, his little, squeaked,
fat voice making large incisions in the
atmosphere.

The gist of his remarks was that con-
ditions here were the same as in En-
gland. There they had a large trades
union movement that would effect woe-
darders. They also have a Socialist move-
ment that is going to effect wonders, and
which will eventually make itself felt.
That it has not yet done so is not the
result of its policy but merely the result
of circumstances. When he was sent as
fraternal delegate he told those who el-
ected him that he would go as a Social-
ist or not at all, and he went. There
were in the hall, confronting him, men
who had fought with him the fight of
Socialism twenty years ago.

When he commenced the audience was
steadily filling out. When he finished
most of the audience was gone. Then
the few who were left gave three rous-
ing cheers for international solidarity,
as represented by the 163 persons who
assembled in the largest city in America,
under the auspices of the Social Demo-
cratic party, to greet a man who repre-
sented two million men, and who came
here to attend the convention which rep-
resented one million men. It was really
a glorious event, but who would have
thought it could have been so well at-
tended?

WORKERS' BETTERMENT.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, ORIGINATES THE
LATEST CAPITALIST BUNCO GAME.

Beautifying the Slave Pens—Cheapening
Labor By the Introduction of Baths,
Libraries and Dinners—Suggestion
Boxes That Yields Thousands to the
Capitalists and Nothing to the Laborers.

CLEVELAND, O., Jan. 6.—Just at
present the outside world is being regaled
with beautiful tales about the improved
conditions of factory life in this city.
To such an extent have our manufacturers
here exploited this so-called betterment,
that I deem it wise to make known to
DAILY PEOPLE readers, just what this
latest capitalistic philanthropic scheme is.

Last October the Chamber of Com-
merce appointed a committee of "promi-
nent" business men to investigate and
report on plans for the industrial benefit
of the city, i. e., the manufacturers. This
committee, after examining reports and
plans of work in other cities, recom-
mended that employers of labor should de-
vise plans for the betterment of the con-
ditions surrounding the work-a-day life
of their employees.

In other words, in order to boom the
business of the town the manufacturers
were advised to exploit the sentiment of
"justice to the workers" by adopting cer-
tain methods, which, while costing
nothing, would, they were told, pay hand-
somely. To such an extent has this
scheme grown that we now have an In-
dustrial Committee, the chairman of which
acts as adviser on "social betterment" to
those firms desiring its assistance.

We have thirty or forty factories and
stores that are working this "improve-
ment of workers' conditions" method of
advertising.

For it is upon the advertising features
of the scheme that its chief value depends,
but more of this further on. These con-
cerns, be it remarked, in no instance
thought of bettering their employees by
increasing their wages. Nay, nay, the
experiments at "co-operation" are for the
purpose of increasing the profits, not for
the purpose of allowing the workers to
share them, be it ever so little.

But to proceed. The social betterment
of the workers plan proceeds upon the
principle that all that is needed to be
done is to make the conditions surround-
ing the daily work life of the employee
more beautiful and comfortable.

The Cleveland Hardware Company is
one of these "mutual interest" concerns.
They provide a lunch-room, kitchen, etc.,
and serve their 350 employees at "cost."
While the prices are low and the food
fairly good, the fact remains that ac-
cording to the Company's own acknowl-
edgement the affair does not cost them
anything.

Another "feature" at this factory is
the library, but it has developed that it
never cost the company a penny, having
been established as a branch of the city
library by the city. In this connection it
is interesting to note a scheme that this
concern worked very neatly. They wrote
to prominent men and women all over the
country asking them to donate to a private
factory library one book each with signa-
ture of the donor on the fly-leaf. They
got three hundred volumes through this
game.

Everyone of the improvements adopted
by the company redound first to the ben-
efit of the company and may in some
cases incidentally benefit the men. In
the rolling-mill, for instance, prostrations
frequently occurred. A change was
made in the time-schedule. For two
shifts of 12 hours were substituted three
of 8 hours each. The result was, to the
men, better health and fewer prostrations;
to the company, greater output
without added expense. By means of
airshafts over the furnaces all prostrations
were finally avoided, and the old
time-schedule again went into effect.

And yet in spite of all these heavenly
conditions the men are not satisfied. Some
philanthropists are horrified to hear that
some of the men regard the restaurant
as a money making scheme. And last
year there was a strike of the machin-
ists. The company, when asked about
it, said that the men were reluctant to
go out, but had to obey the union's order.

At the Sherwin Williams Paint Com-
pany factory they furnish the noon meal
at cost, 6 to 8 cents is the average ex-
penditure of the employees, the whole bill
costs but 17 cents—wages are cor-
responding lower here. Work in a paint
mill is attended with great danger from
lead-poisoning. At one time 20 per cent
of the men were continually ill, and the
average time of service in that depart-
ment was a month and a half. This en-
tailed economic expense to the Company.
They solved the problem by providing
clean clothes daily for the men by put-
ting in baths and making their use
compulsory.

The company was surprised at the
benefit it derived from these measures.
Sickness and poisoning are a thing of the
past.

Another scheme is worked in the factory
of the Cleveland Window Glass Com-
pany. A discussion takes place once
a week upon some topic of business in-
terest. Written questions are handed
in advance to the employees. The an-
swers enable the company to judge of
the efficiency of its working force. They
indicate also the possibility of educating
men from the ranks to positions as fore-
men and salesmen, thus obviating the

necessity of relying upon outside as-
sistance. Here is one of the fairy tales
they tell about this plan: Two years ago
a young man was taken into the employ
of the company at a salary of \$12
per month. Soon the company needed a
salesman. Largely through informa-
tion obtained in these discussions he was
enabled in a short time to fill the position
of salesman at a salary of \$23 per
week, instead of \$12 a month.

Occasionally the employees found diffi-
culty in knowing where to go for infor-
mation upon topics proposed for dis-
cussion. This was especially the case
with the boys. The company suggested
attendance on night schools. Last year
twenty boys attended them.

The Cleveland Twist Drill Company is
another concern that has joined the ranks
of the improvers. They have the dining-
room, smoking-room and reading-room
features.

One feature of special interest in the
factory is the system of paying for sug-
gestions tending to improvements in pro-
duction, etc.

One of the first suggestions was adopt-
ed. The drills made by the company
are straightened before they are sent
out. A drill is laid on a block of metal
whose upper surface is smooth and
highly polished. By looking toward a
strong light and rolling the drill back and
forth, the inaccuracies, if any exist, are
discovered. This work requires great
accuracy and close application, and it is
hard upon the eyes. Formerly the work
was done in a large room which had
a number of windows. An employee sug-
gested that the difficulties might be over-
come by partitioning the room, painting
everything green and having green
shades. They tried his plan, found it
worked, paid him \$50 and in return they
found that with half the original room
they increased the work of that depart-
ment 15 per cent., and are thereby reap-
ing thousands of dollars additional
profit. The company, finding that their
"philanthropic" scheme had worked so
well, looked around for other depart-
ments to experiment upon.

They found that the employees at work
in the tempering room had to work in
front of redhot furnaces ten hours a
day. The company introduced shower-baths,
compelled the men to use them during
the day to the extent of a total of thirty
minutes. The result was that the men did
more and better work in 9½ hours than
they had done before in ten hours.

But they still are employed ten hours—
one-half hour at bathing for the benefit
of the company, and they have not had
an increase in wages. This company has
looked out for the "betterment" of its
workers to such an extent that the out-
put of the company has been increased
one quarter without one cent increase in
wages. But in case anyone should
doubt this I bring the best testimony that
I know of to bear me out. On August
21 last the company, to forestall any
contradiction of the rosy picture it sent
out broadcast, had the pure and sim-
plest in its service address the following
to the company:

"We, the undersigned, in the employ of
the Cleveland Twist Drill Company,
grateful for the many comforts and con-
veniences so thoroughly and conveniently
furnished by this firm, take this meth-
od of expressing our thanks for them,
together with a sincere wish for the con-
tinued prosperity of the company."

Formerly in cases of accident or
sickness the men looked to the
company for assistance, and it was
given. But the plan proved unsatis-
factory. It caused dissatisfaction. The
companies claimed that some of
the men pretended illness and
shirked their work. One company then
proposed a Benefit Society. The idea
was, of course, promptly adopted, and
such a society was organized. The com-
pany contributed \$100 to start the fund
and donated the services of a clerk to
keep the society's books. The company
employs no one who is unwilling to join
the society.

The benefits to the company are these:
It is relieved of all responsibility for
sickness or disability; it is not accused
of unfairness or injustice distributing
benefits; and the men in accepting the
society's benefits, for which they them-
selves pay, do not consider themselves
objects of charity.

But aside from the cheapening in pro-
duction, the value in advertising that
arises from the "betterment of the work-
ing life of their employees" is incalcul-
able. The printed matter sent by these
concerns lauding themselves is something
enormous.

And aside from the fact that the
"betterment of the worker" cheapens
prices, the beautiful pictures which illus-
trate their literature are calculated to
catch the sentimentalist, and induce him
to buy from such a fair source.

Here, for instance, you see two girls
looking out of the factory window
upon scenes that rival our famed Euclid
avenue in beauty. Then, again, you will
see them wandering care free in the
factory flower-garden, gathering nose-
gays as they loiter.

Again, we have them in the "rest-
room," where, amid beautiful hangings,
surrounded by tropical plants, we see them
reclining at their ease reading the latest
novel. Pictures of the dining rooms de-
pict a fairy scene which words cannot
express.

The smoking room for men shows a
piano as one of its features. Another
picture shows a factory billiard and card
room.

One peculiarity of the pictures is that
in none of them do you see more than two
or three persons enjoying the advantages.
The dining rooms are empty, and the
other pictures have just enough life to
give them interest.

One workman employed in the ma-

COLUMBIA "SOCIALISTS."

SCHEME TO RUN STUDENTS ALTRUISM
INTO THE GROUND.

The Rev. Alphabet Bliss Organized the
Club—Pure and Simple Trades Union-
ists as Lecturers—Coaching Students to
Steer the Future Ship of State.

The Reverend W. P. D. A. Bliss has
perpetrated another "Socialist" club.
The roped in innocents this time are
students in Columbia College.

A DAILY PEOPLE reporter visited
Columbia yesterday and interviewed the
president of the Socialist (?) Club, Mr.
Arthur Caldwell; he said: Yes, we
have organized a club for the purpose
of studying Socialism. The Reverend
Mr. Bliss started it. We are not a
propagandistic body; our organization is
purely informational in its character.
We are going to have lectures from time
to time. The lecturers will be union
men belonging to the Cigarmakers',
Tailors

JAURES' SPEECH.

[Last week the speech was published with which Guesde answered Jaures at the Lille debate. The speech of Guesde was complete in itself, both as to where experienced and, consequently, straight-forward Socialism came, and where inexperienced and, consequently, slippery Socialism is sliding down to. The speech by which the debate was opened, Jaures' speech, stating the case for inexperienced and slippery Socialism, is now given below. If Guesde's speech is a warning, for us in America. The two make up an invaluable guide for all those who are laboring in the field of the Social Question with an honorable purpose, and with a proper sense of the seriousness of the situation that capitalism is at any time capable of creating.]

CITIZENS.—The greatest pleasure you would give us, not to applaud us, but to listen to us. It is a great honor to the Socialist Party to institute debates like this. I believe I may say there is no other party with sufficient faith in the power of its own principles to thus institute a political debate among its militants.

We have nothing to conceal. We are the party of discipline in action, always ready to subject our conduct to the orderly decision of the organized Party. But we are at the same time the Party of freedom, always on the alert upon the best measures to emancipate the proletariat.

I propose to explain myself here without heat and without reserve.

THE START OF THE DISSENSION.

When was born, when and how, the dissension between Guesde and myself? And when I say Guesde, it is well understood that the question is not some miserable personal quarrel. The dispute, the disagreement between us, is a good deal nobler, and also a good deal more serious, seeing that the trouble is not one of those old and hateful rivalries that our common enemies speak of, but a disagreement on tactics and on methods, which it is our duty to submit to the Party, and which the Party will pass upon sovereignly. [Cheers.]

Well, then, when was this disagreement born?

It has been said, it has been repeated, that the trouble began with the entrance of a Socialist into a bourgeois cabinet. Indeed, that event aggravated, it goaded the differences as to methods that already existed. Upon this subject I shall touch later. But that event did not create the differences. The differences already existed; they had already manifested themselves with regard to the Dreyfus affair.

You will remember how, while several of my companions in that struggle, together with myself, were engaged in that battle, resolved to carry the matter to the end, there appeared during the month of June, 1898, a manifesto of the National Council of our comrades of the French Labor Party. That manifesto warned the workmen, warned the proletariat, not to go too far in that struggle, to reserve their energies for the class struggle.

Later, when there appeared the re-sounding manifesto on the morrow of Millerand's entrance into the Cabinet, the manifesto declared that it was the duty of the Socialists not only to halt before this particular event, but also to correct the false steps, which, according to the manifesto, began two years earlier. This was an additional condemnation of the tactics that several of us had pursued in the matter of the Dreyfus affair.

And more recently, in the course of the speech that he pronounced at Vautier Hall, on the occasion of the death of Liebknecht, coming back upon this ominous question, Guesde declared once more that we were wrong in entering into a combat, undertaken in an ill-considered manner, that we had thus served nationalistic interests—that it was the business of the bourgeoisie to repair the wrongs done by bourgeois society; and finally that, by this conflict, we had deserted the field of the class struggle. I am, accordingly, justified in saying, without fear of contradiction, that the differences as to methods among us did not start with the question of Millerand, but that they started with the Dreyfus affair, and from that moment—(A VOICE: "Three cheers for Guesde!") OTHER VOICES: "Silence! Silence!")

CHAIRMAN DELORY.—Come, citizens! You have been requested to make no interruptions. Listen. You will then be free to pass upon the method that you prefer to adopt.

JAURES.—I believe my words can hurt no one. I have accurately summarized the accusations directed against us by our opponents, and I have added: Seeing that on the occasion of that conflict that marked the whole of thinking humanity, and in which we thought it our duty to take a hand, not only to defend an outraged human being, but in the very interest of the proletariat, seeing that on the occasion of that conflict it was said that we had abandoned the field of Socialism, the field of the class struggle, seeing all that, I hold that the first question we must determine is this: What is the Class Struggle? What is the meaning of that principle, so frequently invoked, and so rarely defined?

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

To my mind, comrades, the idea of the Class Struggle is made up of three elements, of three ideas.

First of all, at the very root, there is assertion of fact, to wit, that the capitalist system, the system of private property in the means of production, divides mankind into two categories. It divides the interests into two vast groups, necessarily and violently opposed. On the one side, are found those who hold the instruments of production, and who are thereby able to dictate the law to the others; on the other side are found those who, having, owning only their labor-power, and unable to utilize that, except through the instruments of production held by that very capitalist class, stand at the discretion of this capitalist class.

Between these two classes, between these two groups of interests there is an incessant struggle, the struggle of the wage-earner, who wishes to raise his salary and of the capitalist who wishes to lower it; of the wage-earner who wishes to encompass his freedom and of the capitalist who wishes to hold him down in subjection.

Here we have the first element in the Class Struggle. The condition of fact that forms its groundwork and determines it is the capitalist system of private property. And note well, seeing that here the issue is the means to work and, consequently, the means to live, the question is an essential, a fundamental one to man; it affects private life, it affects every-day life. Consequently, a conflict that has for its principle the division of society into property-holders and property-less is not a superficial one. It goes to the very roots of society, to the very roots of life. (Loud applause.)

But, citizens, it is not enough that there be a struggle of classes for there to be such antagonism between interests. If the proletariat, if the workmen did not conceive the possibility of a different social system; if, at the same time that they recognize the dependence in which they are held, the precariousness of existence that they suffer from, they did not perceive the possibility of a new social system and a juster; if they believed, if they could believe in the eternal necessity of the capitalist system, which by degrees imposed itself upon them, then would they renounce the attempt to redress a system of injustices. Such a task would not seem possible to them. (Interruptions.)

mind to expect its emancipation from other powers than its own, there was no Class Struggle.

The Class Struggle commenced the day when, by the light of the experience made during the June days, the proletariat learned that its hope of safety lay only in its own forces, in its own organization.

Thus it is that the principle of the Class Struggle—a principle that presupposes society divided into two large conflicting categories of property-holders and property-less; a principle, that, consequently, presupposes the proletarians as having become conscious of the oncoming capitalist system and of collectivist experience—thus it is that the principle of the Class Struggle was completed by the conviction, acquired by the proletariat, that it had to emancipate itself, and alone was capable of emancipating itself. (Prolonged applause; cheers.)

THE QUESTION OF TACTICS.

Thus, citizens, it is that the Class Struggle appears to me. I suppose that upon that point there can be no difference between you and me. But I maintain that, after you have thus analyzed it, after you have thus defined it, it is impossible for you to use it in such way as to determine, in advance and in detail, the tactics to be pursued from day to day, the method of every day.

Yes; the principle of the Class Struggle compels you to cause the proletariat to feel its dependent position in modern society. Yes; it compels you to explain to them the new order of collectivist property. Yes; it compels you to organize yourselves into Trade Unions, into political bodies, into co-operative labor organizations, in short, to multiply the organizations of the class.

But it is not possible for you, by the mere idea of the Class Struggle, to decide whether the proletariat should take a hand in the electoral struggle, and under what conditions it must do so; whether it could or should, and under what conditions it should or could interest itself in the conflicts of the different capitalist fractions. It is not possible for you to say, by virtue of the principle of the Class Struggle alone, whether it is permissible for you to enter into electoral alliances, or whether you are bound to repudiate all alliances entered into.

That principle, so general, gives you a general direction; but you can no more deduct from it the tactics to be observed every day, than it would be enough for you to know the general direction of the winds in order to determine in advance the motions of each tree, the tremor of each leaf in the woods.

Likewise, it would be vain for you to know a general's whole plan of campaign. It would be impossible for you, with the general knowledge of that plan of campaign, to determine in advance the particular movements of defence and offence, of advance or retreat, which would have to be undergone by each of the tactical units that go to make up the army.

Consequently, in the name of the Class Struggle, we can agree among ourselves upon the general directions of the battle that is to be fought. But when the question shall be to determine in what measure we shall engage in the Dreyfus affair, or in what measure Socialists may penetrate into public office, then will it be impossible for you to decide the question if you limit yourselves to invocation of the Class Struggle.

In every separate case, you will have to look into the distinct interests of the proletariat. Accordingly, the matter is a question of tactics. And that's all we say. (Prolonged applause.)

For that reason you may not introduce the principle of the Class Struggle by saying, as our adversaries frequently do, that the Socialist Party must always be a party of opposition. I hold such a formula is singularly equivocal, and singularly dangerous.

Yes; the Socialist Party is a party of sustained, profound opposition to the whole capitalist system. That is to say, that all our actions, all our thoughts, all our propaganda, all our votes must be directed towards the suppression, as rapid as possible, of capitalist iniquity. But from the circumstance that the Socialist Party is thus fundamentally, essentially, a party of opposition to this whole social system, it does not follow that we are not to make any difference whatever between the several capitalist parties and the several capitalist governments that succeed one another.

Oh, yes! Modern society is divided into capitalists and proletarians. But, at the same time, this social system is threatened by the offensive reaction of all the forces of the past—by the offensive reaction of feudal barbarism and of the omnipotence of the Church. It is thus the duty of the Socialists, whenever republican liberty is in danger, when freedom of conscience is menaced, when the old prejudices that race hatred rears, together with the atrocious religious quarrels of centuries ago, threaten to be rekindled—It is then the duty of the Socialist proletariat to march with that fraction of the bourgeoisie that does not want to remain behind.

I am truly astonished at having to recall these elemental truths, that should be the patrimony and the rule of conduct of all Socialists. It is Marx himself, who wrote these words, admirable for their terseness: "We, revolutionary Socialists, we are with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and with the bourgeoisie against the feudal lords and their persons." (Loud applause.)

A VOICE.—That's not true.

CHAIRMAN DELORY.—Citizens, it is to be regretted that such an interruption should take place, and for the reasons that I have mentioned.

JAURES.—Citizens! I recognize the comrade who addressed those unkind words to me. I limit myself to telling him this: You will verify with your friends, we shall verify together the accuracy of the quotation that I made; and if it is correct, I shall demand of you only one thing in reparation, and that is that at one of our next meetings, you loyally attest the fact from this very platform. (Cheers.)

*Allusion to the revolution of 1848, when, in June, the working class insurgents were slaughtered wholesale by the very capitalist class, who had claimed to make common cause with them, and who had used them as pawns to fight its own battles.

In the same way that it is impossible for the Socialist proletariat—unless it is untrue to all its duties, all its traditions and all its interests—to fail to distinguish between those bourgeois fractions that are most violently reactionary, and those that at least wish to save some vestige or some element of freedom, so likewise it is impossible, particularly to the Socialists elected to office, to fail to distinguish between the several bourgeois governments.

I need not insist upon that. The cool revolutionary sense of the people itself distinguishes between the Cabinet of Mr. Millerand and the Cabinet of Mr. Bourgeois; it makes a distinction between the Cabinet of today and the jingo combinations that are nagging it. I need no further proof than the unanimous vote of the Socialist group, that, a few days ago—

A VOICE (satirically).—For Chalons?

JAURES.—Look out! You think you can embarrass me by flinging that word at me.

CHAIRMAN DELORY.—Citizens! Allow me to address myself to an old comrade, a founder of the Party, that is to say, one who has been in our ranks over twenty years, to tell him that he ought to be the first to have patience and to wait for the answer of Comrade Guesde. You know the consequence of interruptions; I appeal to the sincere comrades of our Party. Let them be careful not to encourage our adversaries by themselves starting these interruptions. (Applause.)

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR.

JAURES.—I say, coming to the end of what I had in mind: There are hours when it is to the interest of the proletariat to prevent a too violent intellectual and moral degradation of the capitalist class itself. That is why, on the occasion of a military crime, there arose among the several bourgeois fractions the struggle that you know of. Accordingly, when a small minority of the capitalist class, despite the combined forces of unbridled calumny, sought to raise the cry of justice and to cause truth to be heard, it was then the duty of the proletariat, not to remain neutral, but to go over to the side where truth was suffering, to the side where humanity was crying.

Guesde said in Vautier Hall: "Let those who admire capitalist society busy themselves with redressing its wrongs; let those," said he, "who admire the sun of capitalism, apply themselves to wipe out its spots." (Great and prolonged applause.)

Very well, let him allow me to tell him: The day when a crime is committed against a man; the day when crime is committed by the hand of the capitalist class, and the proletariat, by intervention, could have prevented the crime, it would not then be the capitalist or bourgeois class alone that would be responsible. The proletariat itself would then share the responsibility for the act. It would be the arm of the butcher, ready to strike, becomes the butcher's accomplice. It would not then be a spot that veils, that darkens the declining sun of capitalism, it would be a spot that would blur the rising Socialist sun. We have not wanted to see this blur of shame on the dawn of Socialism.

What is singular in all this, what the whole Socialist Party of Europe should know, is that at the very start of this great drama, it was the revolutionary Socialists who encouraged me most, and who pressed me most to enter the struggle.

You should know, comrades, how the question was raised before the Socialist group in the last legislature.

When that question rose for the first time, when we had to ask ourselves what position we should take, the Socialist group found itself about equally divided.

On the one side, there stood those whose names you will allow me to mention—these were then called the "Moderates." It was Millerand, it was Viviani, it was Jourde, it was Lavy, and then said: "Here is a ticklish question, one that we should not mix in."

On the other side, there stood those who might then have been termed the revolutionary left wing of the Socialist Party. On that side were Guesde, Vaillant and myself. We said: "No, that is a battle that must be fought."

Oh, I recall the admirable accents of Guesde when Zola's letter appeared. Our moderate comrades of the Socialist group said: "But Zola is no Socialist; Zola, after, is but a bourgeois; is the Socialist Party to be placed in the tow of a bourgeois writer?"

And Guesde, rising as if he were suffocating at the sound of such language, went and opened the window of the room in which the Socialist group was deliberating, saying: "The letter of Zola is the most revolutionary act of the century!" (Applause.)

And, subsequently, when, encouraged by his words as well as by my own convictions: when I went to testify in the Zola trial; when, in the presence of the assembled colonels and generals, whose crimes began to be suspected, before they had been thoroughly explored, I began to testify, to depose, and I returned to the Chamber, Guesde spoke to me these words, which I shall remember as long as I live: "Jaures, I love you, because, with you, the act always follows the thought." (Prolonged sensation.)

And, seeing that the cannibals of the General Staff continued whetting their fangs in the flesh of their victim, Guesde said to me: "When the day shall have come, what shall the Socialists do with a humanity so debased and vile?" And he continued with bitter eloquence: "Is it that we shall arrive too late? Will the human elements be rotten, when it will be our turn to build our house?"

Now, then, after such words, why after these declarations, did the National Council of the Party, a few months later, in the month of July, seek to cause the proletariat to withdraw from that great battle?

Perhaps—I so sought to explain it to myself more than once—the revolutionists thought that we tarried too long in that struggle, that we spent there too much of our strength, and of the strength of the people.

*Chalons is one of the places where workmen on strike were treated to the ride without remonstrance from the Cabinet of which Millerand is a member.

But let them allow me to tell them: Where will the revolutionary energy be found in man on the decisive day, if, after a battle like this is engaged in against the powers of oppression, against all the powers of oppression, we do not keep on until the end?

As for me, I wished to continue, I wished to persevere until the venomous beast was compelled to spew out its venom. Yes, it was necessary to pursue all the falsifiers, all the liars, all the butchers, all the traitors. It was necessary to pursue them at the point of Truth, as if at the point of the sword, until they should have been compelled to confess their crimes, the ignominy of their crimes, in face of the whole world. (Loud applause.)

And note well, the manifesto by which we were told to abandon this battle appeared in July. It preceded by a few weeks the confession, which by persevering, we forced from Colonel Henry.

Well, then, allow me to congratulate myself for not having heard the bugle call to retreat that was sounded at our ears; for having placed the mark of the Socialist proletariat, the mark of the Revolution, upon the discovery of one of the greatest crimes that the military caste ever committed against Humanity. (Applause.)

It was not lost. While those crimes were being uncovered, while you were learning to know all its shamefulness, all its calumniousness, all its machinations, the prestige of Militarism declined day by day in the spirits of men. Keep in mind that Militarism is dangerous only by reason of its being the armed guardian of Capital. It is dangerous also in that it seduces the people by a false image of grandeur by I know not what fraudulent pretence of devotion and self-sacrifice.

shoot an arrow at us that must rebound upon yourselves. (Cheers.)

And, now, I wish to say but a few words touching the painful events of Martinique and of Chalons. But before doing so, let me remind those of our comrades, who allow themselves to be carried away so far as to constitute those events into a charge against us, that they incur an act of grave confusion.

When a cabinet is sustained in bourgeois society, even a cabinet where a Socialist is a member, that does not imply that one has the chilliness of expecting that Cabinet, or of any bourgeois cabinet, full justice and full deference to proletarian interests. We know full well that capitalist society is the hot-bed of iniquity. We can get out of iniquity only by getting rid of capitalism.

But we also know that there are in bourgeois society some enemies more hateful and more violent than others. In sustaining a cabinet, we do so, not because we love such a cabinet more, but because we love the others and worse ones, that would replace it for sinister purposes, less.

Accordingly, it is a heinous injustice to reproach us with the faults, the errors or the crimes of those whom we stand by only in order to prevent greater crimes. (Loud applause.)

As to Martinique, let me tell you that hardly was the massacre of that place known in Europe, and while the first letters to our friends and first reports to the government were arriving, the Socialist group of the Antilles, assembled in Paris, called upon the Cabinet.

It asked these things of the Cabinet: it demanded the removal of the magistrates who had been most brutal in their conduct towards the strikers; it demanded the degradation, the strongest disciplinary punishment of Lieutenant Kahn, the murderous officer.

A VOICE.—He ought to be shot!

JAURES.—And it demanded the immediate discharge from prison of all the proletarians who were sentenced for their participation in the strike.

The officer has been punished; the judges have been removed; and the order has been issued by cable to discharge all the strikers who were sentenced. (Cheers.)

As to the strikes in France, I only say this: The government adopted certain tactics by which, all that is said to the contrary, notwithstanding, in future, if they shall know how to insist upon them, the workmen will be benefited: these tactics are to the effect that the municipal police shall not be superseded.

You know that the employers of Marseilles, like Mr. Thierry, have complained to the Government that it did not take the police force away from the Socialist Mayor of that city, our friend, Citizen Elaisier.

As to Chalons, it was the crime of the municipality that was the cause of the disturbance, and gave occasion to the murders that took place.

Despite all, because we know that the workmen will enjoy greater guarantees if the municipal officers, elected by themselves, living among them, shall have charge of the police force, it is our duty to persist in the demand that the Police shall be left in the hands of the municipalities.

And let me tell you: If, because we have stood by the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet against jingoism, against reaction, you should be right in accusing us of I know not what complicity in the crimes of Martinique and Chalons, will you say of your friends themselves?

What! Here you find, assembled on this very platform—I demand leave to speak with full freedom—you find assembled on this very platform the Mayors of the French "wor Party." Now, then, I ask you, if the policy of the Government may be justly characterized by Martinique and Chalons; if those crimes were the true and characteristic expression of the Government;—what would you say of the municipal officers, who, having been elected, accepted as yours have done—and they were right—the invitation to break the bread of hospitality at the same banquet with these "murderous" Cabinet officers?

What! The Mayor of Lille, Citizen Delory; the Mayor of Fourmies, of Fourmies, mind you, the assassinated town—! all these elected Mayors, all of them carrying in their person the responsibility of their city, go and sit down at the same table with Waldeck-Rousseau! And, when the Chamber is reconvened, when there is an interpellation on the general policy, when the question is no longer Chalons and Martinique, but Spido, ignominiously expelled, but Morgari, dismissed;—when all this is up, such, nevertheless, is the power of things, such is the supreme interest of the proletariat not to deliver itself to the jingo and clerical reaction, that all of you, elected ones, all, all, Zeras, who is present, as well as Vaillant, all give a vote of confidence to the Government.

Be careful! If you say "Chalons" and "Martinique," it is not me alone whom you hit. (Loud applause and cheers.)

We may then—raising ourselves above these personal polemics and of these fratricidal quarrels—look into the question of principle itself and by itself.

I make free to tell you, with, perhaps, the presumptuous assurance that I shall not be belied by the years that are to come, I make free to tell you that every time when the Socialist Party of Europe, since thirty years, has tried a new method of action; every time that it renounced its original abstention, styled revolutionary, to enter into action and mix with events,—always have there been uncompromising people who have blamed the Socialist Party in the language that some of you address to-day

*"French Labor Party" (Parti Ouvrier Français) is the official title of the organization of which Guesde is a member and which dissents from Jaures' policy. "Socialist Party," "Labor Party," are vague terms frequently used to designate in a general way the French Labor Party and all the Socialistic groups of France.

*It was at Fourmies that, about twelve years ago, a May Day parade of workmen was shot into by the army under revolting conditions, the soldiers having fired high, but the officers into the crowd. Many working people were killed.

*Gallifet was the leading military authority in the butchery of the Commune. He is a member of the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet, in which Millerand is Minister of Commerce.

TACTICS.

Oh, Citizens! During the last years the Socialist Party has moved forward in the world. It has taken a hand in many events, in many instances that it formerly kept itself away from. We discuss to-day in order to arrange, whether the Socialist Party may participate, through one of its members, in a bourgeois Government. But we are all agreed in saying that the Socialist Party must participate in Parliamentary action.

Do not, Comrades, run away with the idea that it was always so. In the history of the Socialist Party, there were during these thirty years a time when those who advised the entrance of Socialists into Parliament were themselves violently denounced as traitors, we are to-day.

Listen, I pray you, to what Wilhelm Liebknecht—the great Social Democrat whose death Socialist humanity wept over—what Comrade Liebknecht wrote in 1890. In 1890, at the time when, after two years of universal suffrage, the Parliament of the Confederation of North Germany was created, Liebknecht wrote a pamphlet upon the Socialists could and should do in Parliament.

Not only did he object to the occupying themselves with reform, he considered that the parliamentary tribune was useless, even for the purpose of pure propaganda. He said: "Our speeches can have no direct influence upon legislation; we cannot convert Parliament by words; by our speeches, pronounced there, we can throw into the masses truths that it is not possible to divulge in better fashion."

"Of what practical use are these speeches in Parliament? Of none. To speak without a purpose, is the pleasure of imbeciles."

"Not one advantage."

"Now, see the disadvantages, on the other hand: Sacrifice of principle; a basement of the political struggle, reduced to a parliamentary skirmish. To impose upon the people with a belief that the Bismarckian Parliament is calculated to solve the Social Question would be pitroonery and treason."

See how, in 1890, the very action in action of our present members elected to Parliament, looked to the Social Democrats. I suppose you have recognized in that, applied to a different subject, the condemnations that are made against the entrance of a Socialist into a bourgeois Cabinet.

A few years later, nevertheless, drawn by the irresistible force of events, we only did Liebknecht remain a militant in the Imperial Assembly, but he entered the Landtag of Saxony, where no entrance can be made without a vote of loyalty to the royal and bourgeois Constitution.

"I swear before God" (ironical exclamations from several parts of the hall).

CHAIRMAN DELORY.—Citizens, let it be understood that the interruption in a bad light. Jaures was only giving an extraordinary misunderstanding, and no prejudice lead to that we were against one another. I had told you that no one could enter the Landtag without taking an oath of loyalty to the King of Saxony; I relate to you, I describe to you the formula of the oath taken by Liebknecht in order to enter the Landtag of Saxony; and, Comrades, somewhat heated, who do not hesitate to tax me with clericalism. (Laughter.)

Keep in mind that it is Liebknecht who speaks:

"I swear before God, of being untamably loyal to the Constitution; to serve according to my conscience, by my positions and my votes, the inseparable interests of the King and the Fatherland. So help me God."

There were, Comrades, at that time "traitors," "uncompromising" men, we accused Liebknecht of having failed towards the Social Democracy by taking an oath for the purpose of filling a seat in the Landtag. Whereupon Liebknecht, the admirable revolutionist, answered well: "What of it? We were eternally the dupe of the ruling class. If all they had to do was to throw across our path the paper obstacle of the formula of an oath."

And I, in turn, ask: When a crime is made out of a Socialist Cabinet Minister's having accepted what I shall call the ministerial formality of seeming solidarity with his colleagues in the Cabinet, is that formality more humiliating than was, for the revolutionary Socialists of Germany, the oath taken "before God" to remain loyal to the King?

I ask you whether we also should allow ourselves to be arrested in our course by those obstacles of paper, before those bureau formalities, and whether we should hesitate, when our Cause needs it, to throw one of our own into the formula of a hostile Government? "No! No!"

But that is not all. There is another and very delicate question. But I am trespassing upon your time. Citizens, grieve to be so long. ("Go on! Go on!")

CHAIRMAN DELORY.—You say we have fifteen minutes more. Comrades, we ask you to be patient. It is certain that the question is sufficiently grave for us to sacrifice a few minutes of time. Comrade Jaures will now speak up as briefly as possible, so as to answer Guesde time to answer. (Cheers.)

JAURES.—I said that as difficult question confronted the German Socialists ament the participation in the elections to the Landtag of Prussia.

There no universal suffrage existed there we find three classes of electors. It is a veritable trap. The electoral system is arranged in such a way that the Socialist alone never could elect their own into the elective Assembly of Prussia. They can do so only by making into alliances, compromises, as the term it—compromises with the bourgeois parties.

In 1893, upon a report by Behn, Social Democrats of Germany made following declaration at the Cologne convention:

"Whereas, it is contrary to the principles, hitherto observed by the Party to enter into compromises with the hostile parties, because such conduct necessarily lead to demoralization, quarrels and to divisions in our ranks."

SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM.

the Cologne convention declares: "It is the duty of the Party members in Prussia to wholly abstain from participation in the elections to the Landtag under the existing electoral system."

But they were not long in perceiving that, in abstaining from participation in the elections, they would allow the liberal bourgeoisie to be crushed by the reactionary parties, and that the rights of the proletariat—the right of association and organization—were menaced. In 1897, at Hamburg; in 1898, at Stuttgart, and in 1899 they began to allow the Socialists of Prussia to take a hand in the elections for the Prussian Landtag.

But that was not all. Finally, the Socialists, who, in 1863, had demanded the Labor Party that it forbid all its members from participating in the elections for the Prussian Landtag—that Socialists, understanding the mistake that had been made, demanded in 1900, at the Mainz convention, a contrary vote. At this Mainz convention, seven years after the prohibitions, the German Socialists issued the order to the Prussian Socialists to participate in the elections for the Prussian Landtag.

And yet, it was in the name of the Socialists that it was in the name of the Socialists that, in 1893, the German Socialists were forbidden from participating in the elections for the Landtag.

It was later seen that the Class Struggle compelled the proletariat to defend its elemental liberties by coalescing, if necessary, with the liberal fraction of the bourgeoisie. Whence once "NO" had been said, now "YES" was said; and an order was issued. Will you accuse them of having become traitors? (And applause.)

I say to you, without being now able to give you all the reasons, that likewise all the hour when the unified Socialist Party, organized, will issue the order to one of its members to go and act himself in a bourgeois Government, as to control the mechanism of bourgeois society, so as to resist as much as possible the tendencies towards reaction, so as to co-operate as much as possible in the works of reform.

UNITY.

Citizens and friends: I have already asked your good-natured attention, and yet I could not console myself for breaking off my presentation of the affair, for having it incomplete, so as to yield the floor to Guesde, if I abstained from saying that, after all, whatever the difficulties may be, whatever the difficulties may be, whatever may be the polemics, that, at a certain time, may break out among Socialists, they will come together again.

We shall come together again no longer to quarrel, no longer to dispute, but when the Party shall be organized for the purpose of jointly, like loyal comrades, seeking the best way of serving the interests of the Party. Ah, the Party is told: "Remain isolated; stand off; do not mix in the governmental action; keep as far as possible aloof from the bourgeois state."

But I say to you that all the great revolutions have been made in the world since the new social order, before anything had penetrated through all the ranks, and all the rootlets into the ground of the old order.

On the other day somewhat in a hasty way, Kautsky said to us: "Do you imagine you will conquer the governing power of the State by conquering one Cabinet seat after another? Such a notion would be like it, at the time of the religious reformation, the Protestants had imagined they would conquer the world by conquering one cardinal after another in the Sacred College." I beg Kautsky's pardon. That which constituted the force of heretics, of the great revolt for religious freedom of conscience, that which, accordingly, constituted the force of the Protestant Reformation, was just the fact that it started by seizing a portion of the power of the old Church itself; its force lay in the circumstance that, during the XVI. Century, there was a time when the faithful were not certain whether their Cardinals, Bishops, or monks had remained with the Pope or had gone over to Luther.

The Church felt this well; it understood so thoroughly that the danger to it lay in that process of penetration, that the Order of the Jesuits, organized to save the Church, took for its signal the order to penetrate everywhere, and of itself remaining impenetrable to all.

The Church saved itself for centuries by shutting its doors to the influences of the new order. But that which the Church could, the bourgeois democracy can do. It will not be able to lock itself up. It already allowed you to penetrate into the municipalities.

Much is said about the responsibility that a Socialist Minister assumes in a bourgeois Cabinet. Do your elected municipal officers, perchance, assume no responsibility?

Are they, perchance, no part of the bourgeois State? The very universal suffrage through which they are chosen, is regulated, is defined by bourgeois law. When I inclined to triumph over the "unpromising" view, point, where some of your friends plant themselves, how could I not ring the changes upon you of the fact that you thus accept municipal power at the hands of a bourgeois universal suffrage from which the capitalist, bourgeois law, by excluding all people who are supported from public funds, all traveling workmen, excludes the poorest of the proletariat? How could I not ring upon you the changes of the fact that the Socialist Mayor, as Socialist as he is, can be suspended by the central power, and remain for a year dispossessed from re-election? How could I not ring upon you the changes of the fact that, for the very reason of his being Mayor, he necessarily accepts the duty to apply to administer a large number of bourgeois laws? How could I not write upon you the changes that, if conflicts were to break out in the future, he would himself be compelled to apply the penalty of allowing it to be said that Socialism means pillage and murder to apply to the public powers?

Look at Marseilles. These very days, what responsibilities did not weigh upon the Socialist Mayor? In assisting at the trial of Krugger, and in protecting the English residents against possible attacks from the mob, he no longer was the Socialist Mayor of Marseilles, he was engaged with the safety of the whole of France in the face of the world.

And it would be quite consistent to be

a Socialist Mayor if one were not obliged to reckon at the same time with all the responsibilities. That is just the reason why the task is difficult: We are all together a part of the conquering proletariat, joined to a part of the bourgeois State.

That's why it is not enough to have a mere mechanism in order to make a Socialist Majority move. Men of brains are needed, men of prudence, of thought and reflection; men like Flaisch, men like Delory. (Great cheering. Cries of "Three Cheers for Delory.")

Yes, in the measure that the power of Socialism grows, grows also its responsibility.

But of this responsibility, we have no fear, the Socialist Party has no fear. It has confidence in the working class, provided only that class be organized, be face of all the other anarchic and discordant parties, it constitute only one party, one class.

Indeed, there will be among us, for a long time perhaps, differences as to methods and tactics. But there are such differences in Belgium, in Germany. That does not prevent them from being united, from loyally, cordially discussing, like comrades.

And it is in that way that we wish to discuss. We wish to prepare, in the full light of to-day the great Socialist unity, the great Socialist fraternity;—we wish to establish it by light, by reason, by organization. And the purpose of that is to start, first, with the work of reform, and through that, do the initial work of revolution. I am not a "moderate," I am, with you, a revolutionist.

CAPITALIZATION FOR 1900.

During the Year New Companies Capitalized at \$2,415,423,500 Were Formed.

That merchants, capitalists and investors generally believe that the "good times" for them are here to stay is well shown by the rush to incorporate big companies that marked the year which came to an end on Monday. In the course of the year companies having a capitalization of \$2,415,423,500 were formed in the United States, and in December alone companies having a total capitalization of \$197,873,500 were formed. November was a busy month too, but the record for the year was established in March, when the launching of several enormous concerns sent the total for the month up to \$502,900,000. In April the aggregate was \$325,250,000. The records for the various months are as follows: January, \$208,750,000; February, \$124,350,000; March, \$502,900,000; April, \$325,250,000; May, \$261,600,000; June, \$168,200,000; July, \$185,700,000; August, \$99,900,000; September, \$90,700,000; October, \$108,350,000; November, \$148,550,000; December, \$197,873,500.

New Jersey took the lead in the matter of granting charters to new companies in December and there is a big margin between it and the next State on the list. In New Jersey during the month there were companies incorporated having a total capital of over \$300,000,000, and the total of those organized with a capital of \$1,000,000, or over, amounted to \$63,600,000.

Considering only those companies organized with a capital of \$1,000,000, or over, the leading States of December rank as follows: New Jersey, \$63,600,000; West Virginia, \$40,200,000; Colorado, \$20,950,000; New York, \$13,525,000; Maine, \$8,000,000.

The highest capitalized company incorporated in New Jersey in the last month of the year was the International Crude Rubber Company. Its capital is \$30,000,000.

New York in December granted a charter to only one company having a very large capital. This was the National Food Company with a capital of \$10,000,000. In Colorado mining companies took the lead.

FLOOD OF PENSION CLAIMS.

Veterans of the Cuban War Emulate the the Subsidy Capitalists.

WASHINGTON, January 2.—Between \$5,000 and 40,000 pension claims have been filed on account of services in the Cuban war and its sequel in the Philippines. Almost all of them date back to the Cuban war, and the ratio of the number of claims to the number of men who smelt powder or saw actual service of any sort is obviously enormous. The Philippine troubles, oddly enough, furnish a very limited pension contingent. The pension-attorneys and claim-agents are expecting to reap a rich harvest. The shysters have their hired "runners" out in the street at San Francisco, watching for soldiers discharged from hospital and about starting for home in the interior. The runner nuisance became so intolerable a while ago that the hospital authorities devised the plan of sending discharged patients to the railway station in covered wagons, to protect them from the importunities of the claim-agents.

The next move of the shysters was to seek an entrance into the hospital itself. This the authorities were able to prevent as long as the identity of these men or their hirelings could be discovered; but presently the authorities conceived a new trick, and it came to be noticed that there was an addition to the usual number of feminine visitors bringing flowers to the bedside of the sick and wounded soldiers. Then the fact leaked out that some of the ministering angels were emissaries from the pension bar, employed to convey to each soldier visited the address of a lawyer who would get a pension for him with the greatest dispatch and the utmost secrecy.

With such abundant resources of strategy to draw upon, it would not be surprising if the attorneys succeeded in raising the total of the pension list by a good many thousand on account of the Philippine troubles.

The Nineteenth Century, ushered in by a mighty revolution which placed the "Third Estate" or capitalist class, at the head of human affairs, closed upon scenes of barbarity unsurpassed in the annals of mankind. Under the rule of that class science, industry and commerce, instead of bringing peace to the world, have vastly extended the area of war and intensified its horrors. And not only between the nations, but between the classes of each national body, a conflict is raging that dwarfs in blind cruelty all previous human turmoil.

Yet the Nineteenth Century has its admirers; and they are not all among its beneficiaries. By some of its most injured victims its true character is indeed best comprehended. In the stupendous chaos resulting from violent shocks between the new elements and untamed forces suddenly set free by the breaking up of the feudal crust, they clearly see that process of world-creation—or world-formation—which is physically paralleled in the nebular regions of the universe. They see that the various capitalist forms successively assumed by the industrial organism in the course of that process were essentially transient and even short-lived, but that they obeyed in their order of appearance a well-defined, inexorable law of development. And, dark as the last form may be at the close of the Nineteenth Century, they can see through it the rapidly growing body of Humanity, that will soon emerge in full glory from its hideous envelope.

To such as view the past century in the broad light of Socialism, the progress of science, in particular, is a fit subject of admiration, regardless of the ill-use to which it has been put. But right here a strange phenomenon attracts their attention. How ignorant the scientific corps actually is of the social value of its own work; how narrow its conception of the social effects which that work must have in the near future, is glaringly shown by the recent contributions of eminent scientists to our daily press. Here comes, for instance, the famous Ramsay and gives in the New York "Sun" a history of chemistry. Read his conclusion: "It is obvious that that nation which possesses the most competent chemists, theoretical and practical, is destined to succeed in the competition with other nations for commercial supremacy and all its concomitant advantages." What? Is "competition between nations," with a view to "commercial supremacy" and all that sort of "advantages," the end of chemistry? Go to, Ramsay; this thing of converting human brain and bone and blood into gold by the competitive process is not chemistry; it is the merest capitalistic alchemy.

History, then, will record this fact—a deplorable fact to be sure, but by no means indicative of the trend of the human mind—that at the end of the Nineteenth Century most of the learned were still belonging to that school of scientists to whom it, Simon, at the beginning of it, bluntly said that they were only false prophets, narrow-minded specialists, and that no science was worthy of the name that did not contemplate the welfare of the man-world in its integrity. Numbers of them, while professing to be Darwinians, are simply Malthusians. Nay, worse than that; whenever they venture into the domain of philosophy, or sociology, or even pure and simple economy, they pervert the doctrine of intellectual evolution into a doctrine of brutal competition. And in this connection, note, furthermore, that their observation of economic phenomena has not kept pace with the economic development; that they still recognize competition as the law of capitalist progress, although capitalism, in order to progress, has rid itself of that so-called law, and substituted for it the law of concentration; a fact, by the way, which capitalism could not have performed but with the aid, or rather by the act, of science itself. Outside their laboratories they know not, therefore, what they do. They resemble the astronomer of the fable, who, looking at the stars, falls into a pit. Impregnated with the most antiquated superstitions of a mercantile life in its infancy, they remain as far behind the age in their conception of society, present and future, as is the dealer in Egyptian onions who votes for Bryan. In their laboratories, however, they do a great work. They build better than they know. We accept with thanks their useful discoveries and reject with scorn their pernicious theories.

Of course, there are creditable exceptions, and among these may be found the significant name of Alfred Russell Wallace. The friend of Darwin, who shares with him the glory of having established on the rock of science the fundamental law of natural evolution, was in duty bound to repudiate its false interpretation by men of ability in their respective fields of research, yet, owing chiefly to the influences of their environment, short-sighted in their views of the social world, Wallace may not be, in the full sense of the term, a "Scientific Socialist," but, recognizing the "absolute failure of all political and administrative reform, religious teaching, charity, etc., under the most favorable conditions which it is possible to conceive—that is, coincident with a continuous increase of man's power over nature and an almost inconceivable development of labor-saving machinery"—he "perceived," with Marx, Liebknecht, William Morris and a number of other independent thinkers, that the source of the evil far deeper than has generally been suspected, and actually "lies at the very foundations of our social system." Socialism, he says, "has been slower in taking hold of the public mind in England and America than on the European continent, but it is now firmly established and seems likely to increase steadily in both countries."

"Likely?" No; unquestionably. We are aware that in sociology a problem may seem to be sufficiently well stated

to permit of its theoretical solution, yet may remain practically insoluble for a long period. In social as in natural evolution time and environment are factors of the highest power, which are not always properly considered by mere theorists. But when in the course of time the environment has been so modified as to threaten the existence of any organism that has not gradually adapted itself to the changing conditions, that organism must either disappear or undergo in very short order the whole transformation required for its survival. In most cases, however, it is found that this transformation, though not readily perceptible, has actually taken place in all its essentials. Likewise, the apparently rapid progress of the public sentiment and public understanding in revolutionary times is only a visible manifestation of the gradual changes which the popular mind has imperceptibly and even unconsciously been undergoing for a greater or less number of antecedent years, in correspondence with the gradual changes in the economic and social conditions. In other words, the people are then ready for a revolution; and the kind and extent of the revolution for which they are ready depends chiefly, if not exclusively, on the nature and magnitude of the transformation accomplished in the economic field. (Thus the French Revolution of 1789 was necessarily successful and far-reaching; but the French uprising of 1818 was necessarily a failure.)

Therefore, if we want to know (not exactly, of course, but approximately), how near we are to a revolution—and we mean here a true revolution, not a mere uprising—we must first consider the economic distances, respectively covered by the social classes involved since the last social upheaval has taken place. To a consideration of this sort we shall next give our attention; and we shall then find that, owing to the economic action of America upon the Old World, we are nearing a crisis from which Socialism must emerge long before the sun of the Twentieth Century shall have reached its zenith.

At the birth of the Nineteenth Century, modern capitalism was in its infancy; but it was the fundamental principle of the new social order then emerging from the ruins of feudalism, and it soon became apparent that the nation which would take the lead in capitalist development would also take the lead in political power. Solely because of her commercial superiority, consequent upon her advances in machinery, England held the undisputed right to reconstruct the map of Europe at the close of the Napoleonic wars, although her own army had played a very secondary role in the twenty-five years' military conflict that followed the French Revolution. Again, France, owing chiefly to her industrial development, recovered in the early years of the reign of Napoleon—the little, some of her former military prestige, and political influence, many of the continental nations becoming indebted to her financiers. At that time, indeed, the star of England was somewhat dimmed in the European sky, and although she was more powerful than ever as a maritime and colonial power, she had to lean upon France for successful defense against the aggressions of the Cossack Empire. But with the growth of German industry, which naturally induced among the German people an irresistible desire for national unity, not only France fell to ruin, but England found herself sorely pressed by German competition on many distant markets which she had until then considered as permanently subjected to the domination of her merchants.

All of this while, however, a new nation, formed by collisions subject of Great Britain on the American continent, was intent upon developing its own capitalism. Vainly did England, apprehensive of the future, seek in many ways to check the growth of this upstart. Its purchase and conquest the American republic, comparatively small in population and territory, acquired a continuous empire from the Atlantic to the Pacific in the westward of which millions of European emigrants, driven from the Old World by misery, destitution and war, pitched their tents and carved out homesteads for their own selves. Inasmuch as agriculture was of necessity and for a long time their chief pursuit; and seeing that while their capacity of production in this line was beyond their own desires—desires the high tariff wall in the protective shade of which they were rapidly expanding—were constantly falling short of the requirements of a population advancing in numbers and prosperity, England, who needed both cheap cereals for her wage-slaves and new markets for her capitalists, resorted herself to the situation. She went even further, and to the ruin of millions of lands and industries, besides getting American heiresses of the most vulgar blood for her grandest but most dilapidated lords.

It goes without saying that on both sides of the Atlantic capitalism followed its natural course. From competition to monopoly, from free trade to protection, the process through which this transformation is accomplished was more rapid and effective in America than in Europe. A part of that process—the only part actually noticeable in the earlier stage—is bankruptcy. Then follows justification. For all practical purposes, bankrupt laws achieved its work in the United States, and trustification has been proceeding at a prodigious rate since 1893. Of course we still have failures and shall continue to have a greater or less number of them until nothing remains of that middle class so prosperous in former days and now existing by mere subsistence in those petty branches of trade and industry which the trustifiers have not yet deemed worthy of attention. But in all the great lines of commerce and manufacture, trustification here is nearly complete. Not so in Europe; nor even in England, where this last mode of concentration is hardly more advanced than it was here twenty years ago, and where the methods of production, despite the progress of machinery during that period, are consequently also less effective than in this country.

Having at last gained this advantage over the capitalists of Europe, the capitalism of America was not slow to perceive and to improve it. Not content with such "territorial expansion" as was necessary to its future "commercial interests" in uncivilized countries, it boldly invaded by surprise, as it were, the European markets, and the Nineteenth Century closes with

capitalist America at the head of the commercial nations of the world.

We have not yet the figures of our foreign trade for the last month of 1900; but from calculations which the official record will not sensibly alter, it appears that the exports of American merchandise in the last year of the century reached a total of \$1,440,000,000, and that the balance of trade in favor of this country—the excess of exports over imports—will exceed \$600,000,000. In that grand total figure all kinds of manufactures, and notably iron, steel and machinery. Our banks are gorged with money and enormous amounts of American treasure are lying idle in European coffers. During the year a small portion of the vast money surplus accumulated by our capitalists since 1877 was lent to the governments of England and Sweden. Russia and Switzerland are now looking to the same sources for the considerable loans which they require.

And what does all that mean to the working-class? It means that the great international struggle for commercial supremacy has just begun and that the battles of all sorts to which it must give rise are to be fought upon the backs of the workers with unprecedented cruelty. Europe, who for the past three years, seemed unconscious of the danger threatened to her industries by the concentration of American capitalism, is now awakening. She must, in order to adopt the American method in order to fight away the invader. From England comes the news that she has resolutely entered the field of trustification. Germany, shaken to her iron foundations, will not tarry. France must follow. Look out for crises, the like of which we never saw. And onward with Revolutionary Socialism.

LUCIEN SANIAL.

ABOUT THE CARNEGIE INDUSTRIES.

Facts Which Are Not Known to the General Public.

The Carnegie industrial system, which now embraces the mining and transportation of ore by rail and water and the manufacturing of coke, is the growth of years and represents the enterprise of the man who laid the foundation. In this respect it is unlike many contemporaneous organizations recently formed in the steel trade, comprising numerous small concerns originally competitive and created by many individuals. The iron and steel manufacturing plants of the company now include nineteen blast furnaces (two buildings, three steel works with eight Bessemer converters and fifty-six open-hearth furnaces (twelve buildings, five rolling plants with thirty-four mills, an armor-plate works, and a forge for the manufacture of locomotive and car axles. These are all Cyclops worthy of the Homeric archetype. The works enumerated, with the improvements under way and completed, will have an aggregate capacity of 3,430,000 tons of steel per annum, equal to 32.56 per cent of the production of the United States, 12.65 per cent of the output of the world, and nearly 71 per cent of the production of Great Britain, measured by the production for 1890.

In recent years extensive mines of rich iron ore have been added to the company's possessions in the Lake Superior region, and it now mines about 25 per cent of the output of the district, which amounted last year to more than 4,000,000 tons. From the docks at the lake shipping ports the ore is carried in vessels owned or chartered by the company to Conneaut harbor, Lake Erie, where it is transhipped by rail 153 miles to the furnaces via the Pittsburgh, Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad.

The magnitude of the steel-manufacturing operations of the present day may be appreciated from the fact that during 1899 the receipts of raw material and shipments of finished product of the three largest Carnegie works aggregated 35,000,000 tons. In the mining, transportation and manufacturing operations the company provides employment for about 50,000 persons, and disburses yearly about \$50,000,000 to its operative and administrative forces. The business transacted is exceeded by few, if any, commercial organizations in America or Europe.—The Engineering Magazine.

NEW BRITAIN SOCIALISTS.

Their Attitude on Capitalist Attempts to Corrupt.

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., Jan. 2.—New Britain Section, Socialist Labor Party, at its last meeting, discussed the appointment by the Mayor, of Edward Laphorn as a member of the charter revision committee.

It is a principle of the Socialist Labor Party that none of its members shall accept a public position of any kind at the hands of the capitalist class.

They held that candidates for every such position should be elected by the people.

Laphorn, it is said, is not a staunch member of the party, and it was for that reason that the Mayor selected him. His object in doing so, is for the purpose of using the vote of Laphorn to carry out the capitalist schemes in the revised charter, thus opening the way to corruption, and to make the Socialist Labor Party help bear the odium that will attach to the charter indignities.

After a thorough discussion of the matter, the following resolution was adopted:

Whereas, With the Socialist Labor Party, not so-called "prominence" and taxpaying, but strict and unconditional loyalty to the interests of the working class are the qualities determining a man's qualifications to serve the public:

"Whereas, It stands to reason that a mayor representing parties which in their very nature are antagonistic to the Socialist Labor Party, cannot well be an impartial judge as to who would be the best socialist from the Socialist Labor Party standpoint, to serve on certain committees.

"Be it therefore:

"Resolved, That hereafter no member of the Socialist Labor Party shall accept appointments from the mayor, or so-called "prominent citizens" and taxpayers' committees, unless said member is the choice of the Socialist Labor Party or of the socialist delegation in the council.

"Resolved, That a copy of the above resolution be given to the press."

THE
Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance
versus the
"Pure and Simple" Trade Union.

A Debate held at New Haven, Conn., November 25, 1900, between
DANIEL DE LEON,
representing the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance
and the Socialist Labor Party, and
JOB HARRIMAN,
representing the "Pure and Simple" Trade Union and
the Social Democratic Party.

Stenographically reported by Benjamin F. Keinard.

Press of the work incident to the closing weeks of 1900 prevented our getting this valuable pamphlet out sooner. The slight delay, however, has enabled us to place more than ordinary care on the mechanical details. As a result it will be one of the most tasty books yet issued. It is set in leaded minion on brevier slugs, with the quotations in leaded nonpareil.

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ERIN'S HOPE.
THE END AND THE MEANS.

By JAMES CONNOLLY, Editor of "The Workers' Republic," the Official Organ of the Irish Socialist Republican Party.

"Erin's Hope: The End and the Means," is an excellent book for agitation among Irish and Irish-American Workmen. The author traces the natural development of Ireland from the days when the land was common property down through the stormy period of the English conquest to the present. He shows that the struggles of the Irish with their English conquerors was a struggle over the method of ownership of land, the Irish standing for common ownership, the English struggling for individual ownership. The development of the Irish Middle Class is interestingly told, and the fallacy of Home Rule as a remedy for Ireland's wrongs is clearly demonstrated. The book closes with a ringing appeal to the Irish Working Class of America to slap in the face the capitalists Grants, Gilroy and Crokers, and join en masse the militant Socialist Labor Party.

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CHAPTER V.—Appeal of the Irish Socialist Republican Party to the Irish Working Class of America to Join the Socialist Labor Party.

CHAPTER VI.—Why the Irish-American Workingman Should Join the Socialist Labor Party.

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The American Federation of Labor has announced that it intended to organize the metal workers of the country. The metal workers are over 500,000 strong. The purpose of the organization will be to resist the attempts to reduce wages by the powerful combinations of capital. Divided as they have been, they say, they are at the mercy of the trusts.

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Entered as second class matter at the New York Post Office, June 27, 1900.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888..... 2,068
In 1892..... 21,157
In 1896..... 86,564
In 1900..... 34,191



I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.
MILTON.

"TIGHT" AND "LOOSE" ORGANIZATION.

A Cincinnati, O., correspondent raises a certain objection that "deserves special treatment, inasmuch as it offers an unusual opportunity by which to vindicate the wisdom that guides the councils of the Socialist Labor Party."

Our correspondent is of the correct opinion that "it cannot but be admitted that Socialism is taught only by the S. L. P.," nevertheless, he concludes that it "can all be of no avail," because "so tightly organized and disciplined a party" could never expect to be "attractive to the mass of the voters." Our correspondent elaborates this point, and supplements it with the observation that "even the Socialist parties that are organized upon a broader structural principle, have shown themselves unable to rally a sufficiently large number of voters to their standard. No Socialist political party will achieve the Social Revolution. The disease has too much the lead of the physician. The Socialist Republic will come, must come; but it will not merge out of the dust of the battle of ballots, it will rise out of the smoke of battle delivered and won by the masses of the American people, who will have grown tired of trying."

If this reasoning means anything, it means this:
"Political action is useless. The revolution can be the product of organized physical force only; this alone will raise the Socialist Republic; all political organizations, whether tightly or loosely constructed, are vain."

Granted, for the sake of argument, that the above premises are correct and the Socialist Republic can emerge from the battle field only, never from the hustings; granted, for the sake of argument, that such premises are correct; then the conclusion must be just the reverse of that arrived at by our Cincinnati correspondent. In the very measure that one is certain that force must be the arbiter, a tightly constructed political organization becomes necessary.

The principal purpose of a revolutionary political organization must be to EDUCATE. How are the masses to be educated upon Socialism unless sound instruction be imparted to them? And how can sound instruction proceed from an organization that is loosely constructed? The instruction, that such an organization will bestow, cannot choose but be as loose as the organization itself from which it proceeds; it will reflect the looseness of thought that distinguishes its parent. Those who, according to our correspondent, are to lay upon the battle field the foundation of the Socialist social structure, must have been tutored in Socialist architecture. Our correspondent admits that such instruction proceeds to-day only from the Socialist Labor Party camp. His admission, coupled with his premises, constitutes additional testimony to the wisdom of the S. L. P.

Let the issue be what it may—peaceful or violent—EDUCATION is the watchword of the day. To spread EDUCATION broadcast through the land there must be an organization in charge of the work. Such organization must be fearless, merciless in its logic, intolerant as science, narrow as Truth alone can be. It can be none of these if it compromises as much as a hair's breadth; in other words, it can not perform its work if it is structurally loose.

Idle is the cry of numbers. Silly are all tears, or jeers, as the case may be, on the S. L. P. vote. The S. L. P. knows itself. All it needs is an organization sufficiently tight to keep out water, and devoted enough to enable it to carry on its work of EDUCATION, unflinchingly, relentlessly.

If a peaceful solution be still possible, the light-tower from which alone the

light of Socialism has been shooting its rays across the thick, black clouds that rolled upon it, is bound to be the rallying point for the masses.

If a peaceful solution shall have become impossible, then, gladly will the light-tower of the S. L. P. share in the general ruin, conscious that, while its peaceful aspirations suffered shipwreck with all its rivals, yet only the light it alone spread survives, powerful enough to organize Tumult into Intelligent Action.

By all means the S. L. P.!

GEN. COLVILLE'S UGLY FACT.

The passage in General Colville's charges against Lord Roberts and General Kitchener, in which he says that these officers expected, indeed, ordered him to sacrifice his force of 4,000 men so as to save a corps d'élite of 500 Yeomanry, has other and deeper significance than a revelation concerning the military condition in the Transvaal. The passage is pre-eminently of sociologic value.

When General White was locked up and starving in Ladysmith; when General Methuen, along with his subaltern heads of division, was being moved down; when General Buller was being caught in Boer traps with the regularity of clockwork, and paying dearly for it with men and ordnance—in those dark hours of "British Glory," just about a year ago, the news flashed from England that it took just such critical occasions to bring out "England's power, and the sources of that power." These sources were pointed out to be the "Yeomanry." As "Yeomanry" regiment after "Yeomanry" regiment was enlisted, and embarked to Africa, the British press, together with its echoes, the plutocratic press of America, pointed with pride to the "spirit of heroism, latent in the British Yeomanry," and, "needing but to be roused in order to rush to the front" to retrieve all losses. With such a spirit alive in the ranks of the Yeomanry, "the old standby," "England was safe." And now comes General Colville and unwittingly punctures the whole bubble by betraying the fact that the much vaunted about "Yeomanry" is no "Yeomanry" at all, but a collection of city millionaire sons, who, the inference is plain, were made to feel safe on the score of their hides, and were to come off with military glory; the war was to be a fin-de-siècle sport for these capitalist cubs.

The old warning of Oliver Goldsmith is recalled by this fact. The source of English capitalism might as dried up, English, like all other capitalism, grows by devouring itself. Men have decayed while wealth increased. This could not but be so; the noise about the enlistments of the "Yeomanry" hid the fact. Now it is out.

General Colville's military counter-charges contain that which make them the most valuable of social statistics on England yet published.

THE VILEST OF FULLERS-IN.

The employees of the Coal Trust, known as the Pittsburgh Coal Company, have been re-organized. We say "they have been re-organized," which means, that a new organization, not started by themselves, but by their employers, and pushed through by the Labor Lieutenants of these employers, has been started.

In the pay envelopes of these employees a prospectus is given out informing them that they, the employees, have formed the "Pittsburgh Coal Company Employees' Association." In the prospectus, which is neatly printed on first class pink paper, the employees inform themselves that they propose to avail themselves of the unparalleled opportunities to become rich; that one of such opportunities is to become investors in the preferred stock of the company; that they can do so by installment payments of not less than \$1 a month per share; and that dividends earned by such stock shall be added to the monthly payments of the subscribers.

After seeing to themselves, these prospective employee dividend-drawers considerably turn their attention to the protection of "their" company. The prospectus proceeds to provide several safeguards for the company, and thereby illustrates touchingly the fraternity of the relations that could, would, abound and, in this case, do exist between Brother Labor and Brother Capital. These provisions are to the effect, first, that the company's treasurer shall have discretionary powers to accept or reject applications from those who fall behind in monthly payments; he may give them permission, or he may not, and then their previous installments shall fall to the share of their Brother Capital; and, secondly, that subscribers who leave the employ of the company shall not receive back the amount of their previous payments unless the funds appropriated for such re-imbursements warrant it: the company, of course, provides for these funds and decides upon their sufficiency. These are the leading features of the Association.

But, hold, there is still a feature, a characteristic one: the names of fifteen employees appear in fat type as the officers of this new organization. These are the leading features of the Association.

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set consists of five, the other of ten employees, who, respectively, constitute the "Board of Directors" and the "Advisory Board"—both, of course, appointed by the company.

Between the lines peeps and blinks one of the vilest jobs yet put up against the workers, and launched with the aid of the Labor Lieutenants of Capital.

It is evident that the coal baron capitalists are getting tired of acting as collecting agents of dues, without pay, for the Labor Lieutenants, the Labor Fakirs. These capitalists now want to have some direct financial benefit. They are not satisfied with the dirty work their lieutenants perform by keeping the rank and file in tow of capitalism, in return for these collections of dues. The capitalists want more. As a result, we have "Pittsburgh Coal Company Employees' Association" STARTED WITH THE PAY ENVELOPES.

The eight pages taken up by the prospectus can be boiled into a few lines, a short manifesto to the employees, reading as follows:

"Henceforth you shall each contribute \$1 a month out of your wages to the company. Those who don't, shall get no work. Those who discontinue shall be treated likewise."

The "Pittsburgh Coal Company Employees' Association" should be promptly given a charter by Gompers' Organized Scabbery; the Association even deserves an honorary membership among the devices to pluck the worker with the Labor Fakir as the necessary amanuensis.

HOLDING UP THE NATION.

Every little while, and of late with increasing frequency, repertorial broadsides are fired upon the public giving accounts of "hold-ups." These incidents are usually placed in the Far West; occasionally a populous city like Chicago is the theatre of the high-handed act that tells the tale of organized ruffianism assailing the safety of society. These incidents certainly are serious; and yet they are not a circumstance to another category of "hold-ups," which, though they assail the whole Nation, are passed over in silence by the plutocratic press. One "hold-up" of this category has just been fearfully revealed in Congress. Speaking on urgent measures needed for the safety of the Nation, Representative Payne said:

"For the past three years we have had no appropriation or expenditure for armor plate to be put on our naval vessels, SIMPLY BECAUSE WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO MAKE ANY TERMS WITH THE PEOPLE WHO MANUFACTURE ARMOR."

To appreciate the depth of national degradation implied in his statement, one must put himself in the shoes of the social system of which "the people who manufacture armor" are a limb, and the existing government is the upholder.

Here we have a Nation, run upon the theory that any one country is the natural foe of all the others, thriving as the others decline, and declining as the others thrive; here, accordingly, we have a Nation whose safety demands that its borders bristle with guns, and that the floating parts of its territory—its naval equipment—be proof against the guns of its "natural foes;" here we have such a Nation left with armor unprepared; left exposed at the very time when foreign complications threaten—just because private concerns refuse to make terms! Here we have a sovereign Nation of over 75,000,000 held up by "the people who manufacture armor," and virtually told: "Stand and deliver!" and its government acquiescing in the indignity.

Hard were it to pick out of the many features of Capitalist Society any one feature and pronounce that the most infamous. The feature in point is as good as any. The Capitalist Class stands there convicted simultaneously of treason and hypocrisy; its vaunted patriotism stands exposed, its bragged-about honor is a thing to traffic on.

A Nation's safety, a Nation's honor, can never be safe in the hands of any one class. A Nation's safety, a Nation's honor, can be safe only when in the keeping of its whole people. Nor can that day come until the Capitalist Class has been dethroned, and the dome of the Socialist Republic has been reared.

THEY ARE ONE.

George Steggenberg, brother of Bull-Pen Steggenberg, has been granted a lieutenant's commission by President McKinley, despite the fact that he thereby violates the solemn promise he made that all promotions should be due to seniority. Steggenberg is thus thrust ahead of sergeants and second lieutenants, as he was only a corporal.

Gov. Steggenberg thus reaps the reward of the Bull-Pen outrage, when he, a Populist, stood and defended the action of the President in sending troops to imprison in the most barbarous fashion, the striking miners of Idaho. McKinley thus acknowledges the value of the service rendered by Steggenberg. Both men meet upon a common ground, where both can shake hands, and that ground is the reeking place of the murdered members of the working class.

There is no law to McKinley, because there is none to his class. Such a thing

as his word of honor means nothing to him. He violated the law when he sent troops into Idaho. He violates his word of honor when he gives a commission as lieutenant to George Steggenberg. Yet in doing both these things he serves, in most effective fashion, the class for whose interests he works. That class is best served, not by obeying the law, but by using it. It serves their purpose, they break it. If it serves their purpose, they enforce it against others. But always, and under all circumstances, they regard the law as useful only when they can employ it to their own advantage.

It is evident from the recognition which George Steggenberg received that the Governor has now at his command unlimited power to obtain reward for his actions. He has demonstrated to the administration the oneness of his party and the Republican party, and he has also demonstrated the usefulness of his party in such events as the miners' strike.

The McKineys and the Steggenbergs are one in their intentions. They are one in their point of view relative to the working class. They are one in their treatment of the working class. They are one in their willingness to be faithful servants of capitalism.

No wonder both were made honorary members by the Organized Scabbery that runs the pure and simple system of unionism.

The rapidity with which railroad consolidation is going on augers well for the effectiveness of the anti-trust campaign which the Republican party has entered upon. In the union under one purse of all these lines we have the best indication of the line of work for the new century. It was worthy of the giant, but it is only the first fruits as more and greater things are to follow. In such a union strength is gained, economy is effected, and greater utility results. Those who protest against this condition of affairs have only the consolation of knowing that it is going to increase, and that, until the Socialist Labor Party takes all industries for the use of the whole people, consolidation in the hands of a few men will continue to eliminate the thousands of little fellows.

There is reason in everything, even in a Social Democrat. When the great Social Democratic party found that it did not exist in a very lefty condition, it at once proceeded to change its name, and now it has several. Out in Chicago where it has moved in a circle with most astonishing velocity, it became the "Socialist" party. The causes for its receiving this baptismal name are interesting. When the matter was up for discussion, Walter Thomas Mills arose and announced that his new book was nearly finished, and that the name "Socialist" party fitted in perfectly. If the delegates would not take the name for him, Walter Thomas Mills, sake, at least they should be merciful, and take it for the sake of his book. There was loud cheering. The plea was unanswerable, and the great Social Democratic party, for the sake of the book, changed its name again.

New Zealand, the "workingman's paradise," does not seem to be wholly a desirable place to live in. The ranting reformer, with less knowledge in his pate than falls to the average 10-year-old, draws a vivid picture of the joys and pleasures that may be derived from residence in New Zealand, and he advocates a similar state of affairs here. From reports, published in New Zealand, and not here, we learn that there is practically no demand at present for unskilled labor, and that the skilled trades are badly over-crowded. The result is friction between employers and employees. In such friction it is hardly usually the workingman who is most abraded. Wages are also low; provisions are costly; chances for obtaining work are few and far between; life is primitive; strikes are numerous. Wherein does New Zealand differ from the average capitalist country?

The smashups in London financial circles seem to be the prelude to a most melancholy song. It has been noticeable for some time that industrial conditions in England were "unsatisfactory." The smaller manufacturers were being crowded out, and some of the larger ones were finding the way beset with thorns. Only the extremely large and well-organized firms did not complain. They had bulk and ballast enough to weather the storm, and also to do a little privateering while the first grand wreck of many occurred. It will be followed by others, and most of them will be more important. The United States is bound up in the matter, and here also we have had a very good first crop. The second will come before the year is really well under way.

Political and Economic.

Four new papers have "come out" for the Social Democratic party. Seven of those which developed the coming-out habit a few months ago are now having their pages printed on golden presses with ink made from crimson sunsets. They have entered the fathomless to be, and as they were well provisioned for the journey it is improbable that they will return. If we adopt the well-known Social Democratic way of reckoning, we find that this is a net gain of ten papers! We say that hurriedly, because in the meantime some more of them may have died, and that will be a net gain of a few others. At this rate it will not be long before every newspaper that falls a victim to taking last breaths will be an official organ of that party. Hurrah! Nothing can keep them back.

A KANGAROO REVIVAL MEETING.

They were all meek and lowly followers of the Lamb. They were all Reverends, and they attempted to arrange themselves in the order of their importance; that is, each tried to be the head of the list, and to make his National Committee, for each had one of his own, the first and only one. That was the sole sign of coming together that they manifested, but it did not last long, and they seated themselves in a mystic circle, and waited for the appearance of the converts—three one-time ferocious athletes, who, in hair-shirts, were now doing penance on the naked boards in the hall way.

There were, in the mystic circle of Rev. erends, the Rev. Thomas Jones of Iowa, the Rev. Stitt Wilson of Chicago, the Rev. George Herron of Chicago, the Rev. Job Harriman of New Haven, the Rev. Father Grady of Kentucky, the Rev. Phineas Whittemore of Massachusetts, the Rev. B. Fay Mills of St. Louis, the Rev. Charles Vail of Jersey City, the Rev. Fred Strickland of Chicago, the Rev. F. O. Macaribuey of Rockland, the Rev. George E. Biglow of Pennsylvania, the Rev. William Thurston Brown of Rochester, the Rev. Herbert N. Casson of Lydia Commander, the Rev. Charles Casson of Canada, the Rev. Walter Thomas Mills of Chicago, the Rev. Simon A. M. Simons, "editor," of Chicago.

They were all there in the flesh, and in as much of it as a cold and indifferent world would allow them to acquire. A holy and peaceful calm reigned everywhere, and not a sound was heard excepting now and then a deep felt yearn for the working class. A spirit of brooding peace did stunts on the massive brows of all, and an inexperienced person might have thought they were thinking. Not so. They were there with a mission, and the Rev. Herron, as he arose to outline the plans for his Apostolic League of Original Converts, had the general air of a man. As he advanced towards the footlights he inadvertently brushed his toe on his ear, but, nothing disconcerted, he gently folded it back into place again, and radiated forth. He held up his hand, and called for silence. The consciences of all the gentlemen present contributed it. Then suddenly the Rev. George had a psychological moment, and the edifice rang with applause. "Bring on the converts," he cried. "Let them speak and lift up their voices and bear testimony to that which is what. Let them say unto each and every extant thrill that echoes through the iron vistas of time, that in the vineyard they have labored, and much fruit has been productive thereof. For nine and thine are each unto all, and have been since that first Socialist so pronounced it, and the forests heard it and waved their lofty branches afar off. No more shall it be a burden. No more shall the night know their groans, for, behold, and eke behead, they have come to the fountain of everlasting purity, and all their stains shall henceforth be common property. For it is not yet written, though I intend to write it, and publish it in 12mo., price thirty cents, that as you render so shall the rendering find an acceptable market."

Then the three gentle converts, who had been called to see the light, were let in, and they came in bearing palms and singing halilelujahs. One was a six-footer, with a head like a Bermuda potato and an Egyptian onion jammed into one; he looked fresh from asserting union-candle eggs; the second had a rhomboidal head with cock-sparrow eyes; he looked fresh from snap-shooting in piebald English; the third had a head like a sugar loaf, his back-head being sawed off; he was fresh naturally in everything but age and ideas.

The first of these three was an exemplary convert. His ruddy face was hidden in confusion and a most startling look of surprise. He was not accustomed to being converted, but he was determined to see it through. He stood before the crowd, and the voice of the Rev. Stitt Wilson rang out saying, "Brother Johann will now give his testimony."

The Brother, who answered to the name of Johann instinctively put his hand into his pocket, but he recalled himself in time, and commenced to speak in a well-modulated voice that had its origin in the heel of his left shoe:

"I'd just go to pe here yet. I feel that a great pudding is off my hart lifted. I am glad that I saw the lights, and that I had the loaf in myself. Brains der name of Chob Hurrahmann. Vunse I was a vicked mensch, but now, I gif danks, I am other ways, and I am not dose same beople."

"I vos derpy a glass-conscience Socialist, and I tell rut ver dose materialist conception von histories. But I am glad here to pe, and I gif more brains, and I say down mit all ministers! they is all barasties!"

There was consternation in the faces of those present, but Johann stood smiling amiably at all, and nodding his head in approval of the speech he had just made. The third one of the converts, he of the sugar-loaf head, at this juncture rushed over and whispered in Johann's ear, and a look of disgust passed over the face of Johann. He again commenced to speak, and he said in a half-hearted way: "Hurrah vor all gurrumench! They is petter to take rut out off the hants off ignorant vorkumenge. Hurrah! Hurrah!" Then he sat down, and his eyes filled with tears.

The converts had been carefully assorted. Johann was a gentle in every link of his six feet. The convert opposite him, he of the rhomboidal head, was Barney, whose tribe had not been lost. The convert of the sugar-loaf head, baptized "Alexander," balanced the affair by being half and half.

Barney arose. There were magnificent specimens of gargoyles fringing his head, and dormer windows, and Gothic arches wandered up and down his rhomboidal cranium. His English was perfect Yiddish, and most of his utterances were pauses, with groans and sacred ejaculations in between. They had been taught to him by the Semi-Rev. Simons; and in his ten minutes he related his experience and told how sinful he was, and then he accidentally allowed them to find out how sinful he should like to be:

"Ve yet alretty haf. O yet shinnerts, to gum from that rebentunts stool vile mery is for-all. I vunst sait, 'There is no S. D. P.' und now I sufter darvon. I lif mine hertz in glory to on high, vor I haf dose vottter in me, and those efferlastinks vell-sprinks of mery. Ve hail to you alretty. I haf a great choy in my lifter dot I haf voun der vay to predections. I am delifered. I am smutched von dose purgings. I am a prand mit great lof and rechoising. Braise dose vot help themself!"

He was an aspiring convert, and the Rev. Vail rushed forward and cried, "Pray, brother, pray. My strength is your strength, and I give it to you as it is taught. The time is ripe. Behold, this is the acceptable time. The hour has arrived. I am called. I shall begin my lecture tour at once." There was a commotion throughout the hall among the Reverends, and every man of them answered as one, "And I shall also commence My lecture tour." They stopped and looked at one another in contemptuous surprise, and each told the other that it was rather small business to come into a party merely because a position as soul-saver among the breakers of the world was hard to find. Mr. Herron, who has just commenced to deliver his great series of lectures on the "Economics of Heaven," could afford to be magnanimous, and he restored silence, and allowed Brother Alexander to speak.

Brother-Alexander instinctively gathered up his penitent's hair-shirt, and tripped forward with a mincing and most ladylike gait. He smiled blandly. He was a universal plug, ready and anxious to be fitted into any situation. His great spirit throbbled to be used, and when he saw how he could best be used to his own advantage, he commenced in an humble way:

"Forgit me brutters, I haf been a zinner, I haf drankexcessed so lauz, und I haf been remitz ven I shold be outterwise. My heart is zero und sad zat I shold not see here tonight but I haf long of vor mit exe, sling longink of ze spirit. Ya! Ya! Yavaya! I haf been a zinner. I haf not hat mery. Ven I thought vy should it effer penit thus, so is it. Ya. Ya. Yavaya. O ve vill haf harmonics. Ve vill doll dose vurd zat ve are united, und ve vill dey dem. Bray vor me, brutters, I neddy your brayers."

When they had finished, or rather done for, the song, one of the Reverends arose and offered prayer. It was all he had to offer, but when he finished he was willing to allow those present to offer something in the collection which was to be taken up. All the gentlemen in the mystic circle then seized their hats and started to pass them around. A dozen Reverends struggled to get at the place in which Brother Johann sat, and the conflict of material interests resulted in mourning carefully placed around the optics of several of the men. The Rev. Job Harriman soon wore a Hamburger steak on his left ear, and the Rev. Mills trotted around with a correct imitation of a pork chop on his right nose. There were sundry bitter accusations, and some impatient person asserted that the meeting was not very quiet. This however, was proved to be untrue, because Father Gray jumped on the Rev. Herbert Casson's wind, and left him speechless for over an hour. The Rev. Whittemore tightened the vocal cords of the Rev. Strickland by placing his delicate fingers around his neck and the Rev. Biglow tried to remove the esophagus of the Rev. Brown through his cervical vertebrae. Never were men closer together than during this time, and Brother Barney struggled heroically with Brother Alexander to keep him from hiding in the ice-box and to get in himself.

Brother Johann stood as one, or two at most, in a trance. Then he uttered a real live yell. Then he uttered another, and jumped diverse feet into the air. He at last reached the ground again, and reached out his hand. When he pulled it in again it contained the Rev. Charles Vail. The Rev. Charles gave birth to a piercing shriek, and said "Between Caesar and Jesus!" Johann was evidently the Caesar, and he held his grip in most outrageous fashion. He waved the Rev. Charles thrice in the air, and then he hung him on a neighboring spigot. He removed him, and tried to hang him on the ceiling. He would not stick, so Brother Johann used him to dust the furniture with, and all the time he uttered (for he was in a reminiscent mood), "Dake dose, und dese, dot vill make you rememper vot Bat Murphys did to me on the night of July 10." Then he carelessly threw the Rev. Charles through the open door, and the Rev. Charles Vail did not come back to resent it.

The others were exhausted with their uniting, and Brother Johann took off the hair-shirt in which he was doing penance, and started in to enliven them a bit. The fact that he had been converted and lived, did not deter him from smiting the holy gentlemen who had entered Socialism as the shortest route to a living. He even assaulted them with a fist that looked like a prize Bermuda potato, and when he had finished there were several sanctimonious wrecks fleeing towards the door. He looked around with a grim smile and said:

"I haf been done; but I haf nod left many of dose undone. I haf been converted; but I haf been the weapon of Sampson. I am the only great and original chaw-pon."

The curtain fell, and darkness settled on the earth. A crowd of disconsolate men whose garments were not wholly present stood on the sidewalk and sighed. At last one of them spoke up and said:

"Verily, brethren, before we convert these men we must at least remove their ability to strike." His words were received with a heartfelt "amen."

The "amen" had hardly died out, when on the still midnight air, there floated from a jolly group of New Year celebrants the refrain.



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan

BROTHER JONATHAN (looking rocky, and acting rocky).—Hiel!

UNCLE SAM.—Been drunk again? B. J. (straightening up).—No; not really. I don't call a man drunk when he has been merely celebrating.

U. S.—Is "celebrating" your lame name for "drinking"?

B. J.—No; I mean celebrating. You see, I have been celebrating the New Year, the New Century.

U. S.—No, I don't!

B. J.—Oh, yes, you do. I mean that I was feeling very happy to think that I was one of those privileged beings that lived to see the 20th Century after having helped to make the 19th Century the wonderful thing that is.

U. S.—I can't quite understand you.

B. J.—Will you deny that the inventions of the last century were wonderful?

U. S.—No!

B. J.—Were not marvels accomplished in engineering?

U. S.—They were!

B. J.—Were not great discoveries made of natural laws?

U. S.—Yes, indeed!

B. J.—I need go no further. Isn't the ground enough to be proud to say we were of that century?

U. S.—Do you imagine, do you hold in the belief, that "wonderful inventions" are just subjects for joy whether or not they benefit the human race?

B. J.—Yes, open.

U. S.—Don't you imagine, do you hold in the belief, that "wonderful inventions" are good things if the very men who make the inventions, and the very men who work at them get nothing from them, while idlers sponge up all the good there is in such wonders?

B. J.—No! But is that the case?

U. S.—There is a thing happening just now that may help you to answer your question.

B. J.—Which?

U. S.—Did you read about the great railroad deal or consolidation?

B. J.—I should think I did! \$300,000,000 and more on one side joins hands with \$300,000,000 and more on the other, and the two will make the most powerful combination of that sort, extending from the Atlantic across to Seattle, on the Pacific.

U. S.—Could that combination have anything to combine on, were it not in the wonderful inventions of the last century, for the marvels accomplished in engineering, for the great discoveries made of natural laws?

B. J.—Course not.

U. S.—Now, who are the beneficiaries?

B. J.—Who?

U. S.—Yes. Are the inventors in possession of this gigantic railroad marvel?

B. J.—Can't say they are.

U. S.—Are the workmen, who operate this marvel and are slaughtered by the wholesale, in possession?

B. J.—Guess not, they are poor as getting poorer.

U. S.—Accordingly, all these prodigious have accrued to a few idlers who can invent anything except ways to defraud the workers. Is that a thing to celebrate?

B. J.—That does look funny. But was would you have us do? I thought of these inventions were good.

U. S.—And so they are!

B. J.—Oh! Then we may celebrate.

U. S.—It doesn't follow. There is only the potentiality of human happiness to celebrate. All these achievements of the past, great as they may seem, so small and incomplete. They cannot really be complete before that greatest of all achievements, the establishment of the Socialist Republic. Not until then will inventors benefit the inventors and workers; not until then will they benefit the human race. So long as that is done, these great achievements in natural sciences are scourges on the human race.

B. J.—Scourges!

U. S.—Yes, scourges. What does war in the Philippines, devastating us to us and the Filipinos, mean? It does the bloody war in the Transvaal? What means this threatening inter-continental war, but that the great inventions, not being utilized by the Socialist system of society, are proving the natural result of their being prey of private individuals?

B. J.—Hem!

U. S.—Jonathan, you were promising in your celebration, this time, you should do is to help bring on the when we can celebrate.

CORRESPONDENCE.

(Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communications. Besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.)

Correlative Testimony.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—In the DAILY PEOPLE of December 22, Comrade J. A. McConnell takes a position that is absolutely correct, and without saying so, he is supporting the Socialists. I have had some experience in rebutting the stand taken by persons along sentimental lines, and I have suffered from the effect of such sentimental trances, and hence I know how hard it is to break away from them. That such a condition of mind does place a serious obstacle in the path of the propagandist without saying so, is the absence of any knowledge of what may be considered sound reading, and of the unequivocal mark of endorsement by the S. L. P., we will continue to be harassed and embarrassed until the ball is taken by the horns, metaphorically, by the S. L. P. and the question of merit and sponsorship is settled as far as literature from our point of view is concerned. With a select list of material from which to choose, bearing the endorsement of the S. L. P., we will be in a position to repudiate any and all socialist abortions now inflicting themselves upon the long-suffering UNCLASS CONSCIOUS workers.

A. O. WARRINGTON,
Organizer Section San Joaquin County,
J. L. P.
Stockton, Cal., Dec. 28.

So Shall Certainly Help You Not to Be Gagged.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—New Hampshire Socialists (the means Social Democrats) pay no dues to Springfield, Chicago or any other N. E. B. Socialists (the means Social Democrats) are expressing New Hampshire papers.

GEO. HOWIE,
Manchester, N. H., Dec. 31.

On Goes the Rev. Vail.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—The Rev. Charles E. Vail, pastor of the First Universalist church, Summit avenue and 17th place, resigned as pastor at the regular service yesterday.

Mr. Vail informed the congregation that he had secured another position, but he did not tell them what it was, or the pay.

It is said that he will now devote his time and energies to advancing the cause of Socialism.

Mr. Vail has been pastor of the First Universalist church for nearly seven years. The congregation is a small one, and is composed mainly of middle class people, who are notoriously poor church supporters. Some time ago Mr. Vail found that it had become absolutely necessary to increase his income, his meagre salary not being sufficient to meet his wants. The Lord conveniently turned to him a new field to exploit, and he at once responded to the "call" by writing certain books on "Economics" and "Socialism" (?) These books are remarkable chiefly for the lack of knowledge of the subject treated. He either ignores or is entirely ignorant of the basic principles of Socialism. The class struggle in his books is blurred and subordinated to the "Intellectual" and middle class "Socialism." In a recent interview he said:

"The unfavorable atmosphere for art and literature, produced by competitive society, is the explanation of the growing sentiment of Socialism among the intelligent classes. Both art and literature demand a suitable social environment. The widening gulf between classes is fatal to these accomplishments. What is needed is more leisure and comfort for the masses and a higher public life, such as will furnish an atmosphere in which they can thrive. Socialism will furnish the suitable condition."

Tried by the touchstone of the class struggle his work is absolutely worthless in the proletarian movement. Judged by the light of breakers into which the Socialist movement has been thrown in France by just such "Socialism," as shown by Guesde's great speech recently published by you, the Rev. Vail's productions are positively pernicious.

These books are, of course, extensively used by the Frank papers. He has been called "Socialism," but stipulated that his lectures should be "given away from home." He evidently did not wish his churchly right hand to know what his "Socialist" left hand was doing.

The S. L. P. informed him that he must be the possessor of a sound knowledge of Socialism before he could speak under its auspices. Such "tyranny" disgusted him, and also opened his eyes to the futility of trying to work that field. Then he went to the atheistic "Genosse," the "Volkszeitung" crowd, and was received with open arms.

He made a tour of the East in behalf of the S. L. P. ticket, and was received with "unprecedented audiences everywhere." Mrs. Vail's life is a tragedy. She will conduct the services at the Universalist church until such time as a successor to her husband is selected.

R. H. K.

Jersey City, N. J., Dec. 31.

They Are Getting Tired of It.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—I am not a surprised over the 60,000 representing the Organized Scabbers of Philadelphia endorsing the Debs Democracy, and receiving over 1,000 votes. We have the muscle out here in Greenpoint like

The all-around fakirs in the branch of the S. L. P. is a big city that the fakirs endorse the "Volkszeitung" and a delegate to its conference. This was passed, and a motion was made to the members five cents a month. Comrade H. Weiss denounced the "Volkszeitung" with its charlatanism. There were the "borders from within" showed professional tolerance by hisses and shouts of "traus me him!" Er sprich "Genosse!" "W. ought to kick the Debs out of it," etc., etc.

In spite of all this the opinion of the members was almost unanimous that the "Volkszeitung" will, for the future, have to look to other quarters for the high wages of its board of editorial crickets. Out of 600 members less than 20 voted that the duty of Kangaroo was to get that paper.

Proletarian.
New York, N. Y., Dec. 30.

They and We.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—Last evening some of the Pittsburgh comrades of the Allegheny County, S. L. P., engaged in a man-hunt. We hunted for one Peter Curran who had

been advertised through the Kangaroo "People," better known as "The Bogus" to orate in Pittsburgh. Notwithstanding the fact that we hunted collectively and individually, our keenest scented comrades could not discover the faintest trail of the "material" delegate to the late stereotyped address of A. F. of L. We therefore came to the conclusion that if Mr. Curran did show up in Pittsburgh, he was shown down into some subterranean chamber, safe from the basilisk gaze and "scorpion tongues" of S. L. P. savages, who have no more circumspection or good manners than to whack the arm and hammer on every fakir's head.

Six years ago John Burns of London came to Pittsburgh, and laded out to us "slathers" of nonsense in the form of utopian socialism, populism and pure and simple trades unionism. His visit to this city was heralded broadcast, the newspapers were full of it, and a large crowd gathered to hear him. This was the time when the trade unions of this city had some life in them, but this time has departed. To-day the "trades" unions of Pittsburgh have, through the machinations of labor fakirs, sunk to that level of despair that sees no hope, no awakening. The "United Labor League" could transform its name to "United Under-akers League" without violating the trade-mark. Therefore, when a foreign agent comes to Pittsburgh he is hunted towards some other firmament.

Having seen Curran's itinerary published in a stray copy of the Kangaroo "People," and a syllabus of his Chicago speech published in a morning daily paper, our barbarian appetites were whetted for a feast of reason and a flow of soul, but we were shamefully disappointed.

Last September the local Kangaroos held a quiet little love feast in a secluded hall in Allegheny, before which one Jay Marjory Barnes, with F. M. Gessner as a has-relief, was to agitate the atmosphere. A few of our comrades went down and transformed the peaceful scene into a Kangaroo Acrobatic. Nothing daunted, the Kangaroos tried it again when they announced a meeting for Old City Hall prior to the election, with the Rev. Job as the graphophone. The scenes that transpired at this meeting elope the descriptive power of my pen. Job wasn't there; but Herdrick, Gessner and Malra were there. The arm and hammer was there; the buzz-saw was there. It was Curran, and he did not lecture in Pittsburgh on December 20th.

In contradistinction to this guilty cowardice, the agitation committee of Section Allegheny County has made arrangements for Comrade De Leon to address three mass meetings in Pittsburgh and Allegheny, viz.: in Odd Fellows Hall, South Side, on Friday evening, February 8th; Carnegie Hall, Allegheny, Feb. 9th; and the Bijou Theatre, Sixth street, Pittsburgh, on Feb. 10th, at 3 p. m. To each and all of these meetings the opponents to the straight-forward legitimate tactics of the S. L. P. are cordially invited. There's a chip on the shoulder for those who have been howling "Pope" and "Bose." Several freaks who have at different times in our meetings expressed themselves as suffering from a "double desire to dance a double-shuffle on the sub-maxillary gland of comrade De Leon" will have that desire gratified, metaphorically speaking, if they too scratch on any of the dates named. So, with the compliments of the season to all comrades, with the gates of OUR country standing ajar, the season is an appropriate one for counting three times three cheers for the Social Revolution, and the Socialist Republic.

JOHN R. ROOT,

Pittsburgh, Pa., Jan. 1.

The S. L. P. Pulse Beats High.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—While the old year was drawing to a close, the militia and aggressive Socialists of Hudson County gathered at the Club-house to welcome the XXth Century, reviewing the work of the past, and determined to carry on the war with greater vehemence throughout the coming year.

The Buzz Saw was given full swing. The opening of the fiercest fight of the proletarian in 1901 was hailed with cheers.

Sympathizers of the Party brought music, and the opening of the New Year was greeted with revolutionary tunes.

The film-flam colored lights of capitalism did not draw with the S. L. P., but we laughed at the hollow mockery.

We had no capitalism papers to indicate, save the "Observer," the dupes official organ.

Strong propaganda was outlined for 1901. Pledges of solidarity were renewed at parting, and cheers were given for the S. T. & L. A., not forgetting the Socialist Republic.

FRANK CAMPBELL,

Jersey City, N. J., Dec. 31.

A Correction.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—Please to correct in our official organ, the DAILY PEOPLE, the amount contributed by Comrade N. Van Kerkhove, of Staten, N. J. It is not \$100 as intended, but \$100 dollars, as published. It was my error.

JAMES F. DAILY,

121 Merrimac St., Haverhill, Mass., Dec. 31.

Sic Semper, Etc.

To the Daily People.—Among the several S. L. P. papers owned, not by the Party, but by individual members, that saw fit to side with the Kangaroos, was one printed in the Danish language called "Arbejderen" (The Worker), in Chicago. John Glimbeck, its editor, gave as the reason for its bolting its poor financial condition. To save it from bankruptcy the Kangaroos share-holders living in Chicago decided to hand the paper to the hands of the Socialists.

We held forth that if Debs and his followers really were Socialists, and were in earnest, then their place was in the already organized and at the international labor congresses recognized Socialist Labor Party. We held forth that a congregation of all conceivable kinds of trades unionists, and joining the Debs party, would be a party there has to be discipline.

"THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY BUREAU."

"When the Debs Social Democracy was organized, we took a decided stand against it, and regarded it as a sheer humbug. We held forth that if Debs and his followers really were Socialists, and were in earnest, then their place was in the already organized and at the international labor congresses recognized Socialist Labor Party. We held forth that a congregation of all conceivable kinds of trades unionists, and joining the Debs party, would be a party there has to be discipline.

PROLETARIAN.

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FRANK CAMPBELL,

Jersey City, N. J., Dec. 31.

and logical tactics must be employed.

"Our advice to the workers to keep their fingers away from the new bug-bug, was, however, received with ill-will. It was said that the Debs party was the only right thing; the party that was characteristically American. Our party, the Socialist Labor Party, was branded as a foreign agent, and denounced as a foreign Socialist."

"All labor strikes and dissatisfied elements who would not submit to the discipline of our party flocked over to Debs, together with anarchists, Single Taxers, and others. The party grew with a violent speed; branches were formed in almost every state and city; and America was on the way of turning Socialistic in a jiffy, while our party, with its slow but sure growth, was threatened with being eclipsed by the new party."

"We did not, however, lose our heads, but let the new Socialists make their noise. We knew that it would soon come to a sad end; for Socialists are not made by the wholesale, and they do not follow self-chosen leaders."

"And now the first breakers in the machinery. Last week the party's first convention, of which so much was expected, was held in Chicago. At the convention uproarious scenes took place; some of the leaders were openly accused of fraud. Debs had had his eyes opened to the folly of the colonization scheme. When the party split, Debs, followed by one-half of the delegates, bolted; and now they have organized a new party, the 'Social Democratic Party of America.'"

"Now we will see what this new party will do, and how long it will last. In the meanwhile, all class-conscious workers will understand that their place is in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party, and not in side shows."

The above is just a fair sample of what the "Arbejderen" had to say about the Debs movement up to the very day it jumped into that movement. When it talked that language it lived; when it turned traitor, it died. R. EIDE.

Red Wing, Minn., Jan. 1, 1900.

A Proposition.

Your Letter Box answer to "J. Y. Y. Lowell, Mass." in the Daily of the 23d leads me to suggest that all questions pertaining to our class struggle be published and scientifically answered, with a view of publishing same in book form.

Why not, N. E. C. can undertake the expense. I will pledge myself to take \$2 worth of the publication.

E. M. DAWES.

Montrose, Col., Dec. 31, 1900.

As to the Springfield Proposition.

To the Daily People:

The other day a letter from Comrade Noonan of Springfield, Mass., appearing in the DAILY PEOPLE, suggesting the idea of taking the territory within a hundred-mile radius of Springfield as a basis for raising the necessary means to keep a permanent organizer in the field for said territory. This thought struck me at first as splendid to carry into effect the suggestion of our N. E. C. in its last circular concerning the necessity for permanent organizers. But the more I thought it over the less I liked Comrade Noonan's circuit. The fact that the de-caying Kangaroo corpse stinks there to heaven cannot make us gravitate around the Kangaroo capital, nor does the fact that Section Springfield has done excellent work in last year's campaign make it fit to be the center of an unnatural circle for unnaturality.

While acknowledging its geometrical beauty I see too many geographical and practical defects. It excludes Boston and Providence, and takes in a mountainous part of New York State, it leaves Stamford out in the cold and forces the ocean to surrender part of its territory in order to complete the Springfield-circle, etc.

Furthermore, while speaking of an organization for the above-mentioned purpose, the question sticks in my mind: Why can't we avail ourselves of the existing State Committees? Have they proved themselves to be ineffective? I most sincerely believe that all comrades in the New England States are fully satisfied with their respective State committees. As the present members of the State Committees are limited and utterly inadequate to the task confronting us, they, perhaps, did not show the usual energy in dealing with this question of permanent organizers. But the fault lies with the Sections. If the Sections furnish the necessary cash, our State Committees will show unusual activity.

Right here let me make a suggestion to you, comrades of New England, and that is to take the same course as Section Hartford took in this matter. The Section ordered its organizer to communicate with the State Committee and let them know that Section Hartford was willing and able to pay \$5 every month towards the permanent organizer, no matter how large his territory may be as long as Hartford county was included.

If every section in the New England States also likewise, the State Committees will be able to make arrangements to that extent and we can have one or more of our tried comrades go around as permanent organizers and promote our cause through the New England States. And this can be done in the shortest possible time.

We have been put to a severe test and a heavy strain in this last campaign. We stood it. Are you going to lie down now, comrades? Can you afford to leave the arm and hammer in its threatened position without using it? If you do, your arm will get lame and your hammer stronger every day. Therefore I call on you: Let the hammer come down with redoubled force, and let permanent organizers mean permanent hammerblows against this rotten capitalist system of production and distribution. Be up and doing! This is the time to make history, the history of the revolutionary movement of the American proletariat.

M. L.

Hartford, Ct., Jan. 3.

A Kangaroo Convention in Mosquito Land; or Pre-ludic Interlude and Epilogue to the Nomination of the Rev. Vail.

To the Daily People:

The Kangaroos assembled from near and far:

The leaders were blowing them all at the bar.

It was noon, or thereabouts, when the last Kang was induced to leave the bar (by the promise of a keg inside) to attend the first convention that was to nominate the first candidate of "der divided centurie." Genosse Giovanni Philipp, late of Elizabeth, now of God knows where, borrowed a beer mallet at the bar, and after a half hour's rapping managed to get the lovers of harmony to order. Genosse Sappel announced that before going on some further mit der plinies of der convention der socialistic Liedertafel would something sing-

en, which was unanimously permitted.

After spending half an hour or so of the convention's time in "wetting their whistles, tuning up, shouting 'allendium,' 'pist,' 'rubin,' etc., the Liedertafel began, to the air of the Marsellase, a new song. I shall give it literally in German with the translation, so that our friends may know what's up. Here is the song:

"Volkszeitung's leser!"

"Schliast die reihen!"

"Euch ein grosses werck vertraut—

"Jed' gilt's die partel zu serstrenen—

"Die ihr so muhsam aufgebaht."

"Readers of the 'Volkszeitung'!

"Close up the ranks!"

"You with a great work art-entrest—

"They want to destroy your party—

"Which you have so painfully built up."

Here the applause led by a "Volkszeitung" reporter was great.

After quiet had been restored they sang the second verse, and then Genosse Sappel again got the floor. This time he said:

"Genosse: ash you all know ter crate success which we haf bat at der last collection was because we was united together. We would haf bat some more success if we some more united was. Shoosht now peer I was outside ant trink some beer I meed my freit, who is a good freit of der bardy. I am sure of it he wotes our dicker because I haf seen him reat der 'Volkszeitung' once alretty—ant if noperty somedings against it has I would like dot Genosse Nitram make a speech—"

A voice in the rear: "He vos an Anarchist."

GENOSSE SEPPEL—Vell, vot of dot?

THE SAME VOICE—"Not mit der Anarchist! dat is der gondsidushun against!"

GENOSSE SEPPEL—"Pedween genossen ve don'd gare for a gondsidushun anyvay?"

THE VOICE—"If ve don'd gare for a gondsidushun for vhy ve haf von, hey?"

GENOSSE SEPPEL—"You schbecken like von tam teleconde!"

THE VOICE—"Und you like a tam Rosenberghaner!"

GENOSSE SEPPEL—"You are a tam liar!"

THE VOICE—"You red shuft, bay your tehta, vat you owe!"

Biff-biff—they were at it, hammer and tongs. The circus had begun.

Leader Janus Annanias Craft, who loves leadership as dearly as he loves harmony, grabbed his shining plug hat, dodged under tables, over benches and chairs, sneaked around the struggling, kicking, swearing mass of harmonious genossen (who never use the word "fakir"), finally reached the door, and ran down the street so fast that you could have played pinocchio on his extended coat-tails. He displayed well the quality for that leadership that he bankers so much after.

At this juncture a guardian of the peace connected with the establishment entered, and peace once more reigned in the house of Moses. Why the "House of Moses?" Let every Kangaroo be the Moses of the new century. Was a passage in the gubernatorial candidate's speech. I asked the blue-coat why he did not interfere sooner. The answer was: "Oh, that's nothing; this is only one of the regular harmony meetings; they hold them regularly, ever since they have united." (This is no joke.)

"But what made that distinguished looking gentleman run away?"

"That was Mr. Craft. He's afraid to take sides for fear of offending some one, so he always runs away. You see, a couple of years ago he became convinced that certain offices should be lifted above the muck of every-day politics and given to the respectable class—the property-owning bourgeoisie to which he belongs—

—he aspired to the office of School Commissioner; not that he knew anything of the wants of either teachers or pupils, but that his pre-eminent respectability might by this means become known. Falling in this he joined the Socialist Labor Party, expecting that the genius which the politicians of the old school of politics failed to discover in him would be easily manifest to those whom he considers ignorant workmen. There his characteristics stood him in good stead during the time when the "borders from within" were trying to disrupt the party. He was on both sides of the fence at once, and probably would be so yet if he had not attended a certain meeting where he was forced to take sides. He took the outside, and now you see him here among the other freaks."

JANUS ANNANIAS CRAFT—"May I have the floor for a minute?"

THE CHAIR—"I have no objections."

CRAFT—"What I want to say is this: the comrades don't know anything about American politics, so I will teach them. I will admit that Mr. Vail is or has been a minister; but I hold that he never was orthodox and is not now orthodox in anything. I am an atheist; do you suppose that I am going to jeopardize the success of the cause by proclaiming myself such? No! Among Christians I am a Christian; among Jews I am of the free masonry of Abraham. Anything to catch votes is my motto, and anyone who has any other principles is not fit to be a member of this—the first party in the field in the new century." (Load applause and tumult. Cries of "is dis consequence?" (consistency); "aus mit ihm," and calls for "Fall," "speech."

After a short sermon by the reverend genosse, and a long draught of the brewery, the "first (may) be the last) gonvension of ter new shentance united" closed with tumultuous cheers.

UBIQUITOUS.

Union Hill, N. J., Jan. 3.

More Full Dinner Pail.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—McKinley prosperity has come to the Glove City in a peculiar way.

After working for the last four months from six to eight hours a day, comes a cut in wages. Schedules have been put up in the shops which contain a cut of 10 to 25 per cent. for all the glove-makers.

It is also reported that the blockcutters will be presented with a 10 to 20 per cent. cut. Also the American table cutters have been cut in some shops, and it is murmured that they will receive a cut all along the line.

Further, there are the International Table Cutters, who have for the present nothing to fear for the manufacturers have signed their schedule for the ensuing year, but will they keep their promise?

One S. Littauer, the biggest manufacturer in Gloversville is three times elected to Congress on the Republican ticket by an overwhelming majority. The same Mr. Littauer is the man who three years ago said to the men who elected him, when they were on strike for better wages: "This is not a matter of principle; this is a matter of dollars and cents."

The S. T. & L. A. will have to be organized here.

Gloversville, N. Y., Jan. 4.

Left in the Lurch in Erie Yes.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—I wish to give an account of the public meeting held here in Erie, December 31, 1900, by the "Public Ownership," "Social Democratic," "United Socialist," "Socialist Party," or the Polynomial for short.

This fake party held two meetings here on the 30th and 31st day of December, at which Mr. Pete Curran, the "representative of thousands of workmen from England," was used to make the speech.

I myself witnessed the meeting on the 31st, and must say it was very instructive to me.

Mr. Curran began his speech by saying: "There is no necessity of my covering the same ground as I have spoken on yesterday, seeing the same faces before me." The audience reached the number of about sixty. So he went on and took up the different reform parties of his and this country, saying that they were of no use to present society, which was well enough. But when he came to talk of Trades Unionism, he killed all he said before. His main argument was that

